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Early English Music.

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BY

H. ORSMOND ANDERTON.

With a Preface by
R. R. TERRY, Mus.Doc.

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TO MY FRIEND

GRANVILLE BANTOCK

IN MEMORY

OF MANY KINDNESSES

NOTE.

This little book is based upon a series of articles on the early English church musicians from Farrant to the two Wesleys, which appeared in *Musical Opinion*. These were occasioned by the publication of a number of anthems by these various writers, which were issued by Messrs. Curwen & Co., under the editorship of Professor Granville Bantock, M.A. The articles are here reprinted with but little alteration. It has been thought desirable, however, for the sake of completeness, to add chapters on a few composers of a still earlier date, beginning with Dunstable, and also to give a survey of secular music, both instrumental and vocal. It is hoped that the book may prove useful in bringing before the reader the conditions of the time under consideration, as they influenced the growth of the art, as well as the personalities of the musicians with whom it deals.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

ENGLAND.		ABROAD.
c 1265 ...John of Fornsete "Sumer is icumen in")	1265 ...Battle of Evesham	1265 —1321...Dante 1304 —1374...Petrarch 1313 —1375...Boccaccio 1434 —1520...Tinctoris
	1327—1377,..Edward III. 1325—1384...Wiclif 1377—1399...Richard II. 1340—1400...Chaucer. Wat Tyler's Rebellion	
1400 — 1453...John Dunstable 1472-5 —*c* 1529...Fayrfax	1455—1485...Wars of the Roses	1453 ...Fall of Constantinople 1460 ...Binchois died
About contemp'ary ...Lambe, Aston, Ludford *c* 1490 —*c* 1545...Taverner *c* 1491 — 1547...Redford *c* 1500-10—*c* 1572...Tye *c* 15[illegible]0-15— 1585...Tallys ? 15[illegible]0-4 —? 1565...Shepherd 1523 — 1585...Merbecke (about contemp'ry ? — 1580...Farrant [Robt. Johnson] *c* 1530 — 1574...Robt. Whyte *c* 1540-5 — ? ...Wm. Mundy	1485 ...Henry VII. 1509—1547...Henry VIII.	1474 ...Dufay died 1520-30—1594...Orlando Lassus 1520-5 —1577...Amati (eldest) 1521 ...Josquin Desprès died
c 1542-3 — 1623...WM. BYRD ("Father of Music," "Phœnix") *c* 1543 — '69-70...Robt. Parsons *c* 1545 ...The Mulliner Book *c* 1545 — 1604...Thos. Morley	1547 ...Edward VI. 1553 ...Mary 1558 ...Elizabeth	1524 ? —1594...PALESTRINA
1562 — 1626...Dowland 1562 — 1628...John Bull	1564 ...SHAKESPEARE born	1562 —1621 ..Sweelinck
1568-70—*c* 1600...Farnaby *c* 1570 — 1614...Benet 1573-4 — 1638...Wilbye 1577 — 1623...Weelkes 1582 —1630-5...Ravenscroft		1580 —1652...Allegri
1583 — 1623...ORLANDO GIBBONS	1585 ...Shakespeare comes to London	1585 —1672...Heinrich Schütz
1588 ...Musica Transalpina, Byrd's	1588 ...The Armada. Spenser	

		...Blythman died			
1591		...My Ladye Nevell's Booke			
1595	—	1662...Henry Lawes (Wm. Lawes, his elder brother)			
fl 1599	—	1631...Bateson			
fl 1601	—	1619...Campion			
1601-3		...THE TRIUMPHS OF ORIANA	1603	...James I.	
?	—	1630...John Mundy	1608	...Milton born	
1600-10		...Benjamin Cosyn's Book			
fl c 1600-23		...Peter Phillips			
1608-18		...FITZWILLIAM VIRGINAL BOOK	1616	...Shakespeare died	
1611		...Parthenia			
1612		...Melvill Book of Roundels			
fl c 1617		...Dering			
?	—	1637...Batten			
1623	—	1686...Playford			
1624		...Will Forster's Book			
1639	—	1733...Creighton	1625	...Charles I.	
1647	—	1674...Pelham Humfrey		...Civil War.	
1648	—	1708...Blow			1633 —1687...Lulli
			1649	...Commonwealth	1637 —1707...Buxtehude
					1649 —1737...Stradivari
1656		...Eliz. Rogers Book			1653 —1706...Pachelbel
					1653 —1713...Corelli
c 1658	—	1695...PURCELL	1660	...Charles II.	1659 —1725...Alessandro Scarlatti
					1668 —1733...Couperin
					1683 —1764...Rameau
1677-8	—	1727...Croft	1685	...James II.	
			1689	...William and Mary	1685 —1750...BACH
1690	—	? ...Babell	1702	...Anne	1685 —1759...HANDEL
1710	—	1777...Lates	1710—1759	...Handel in England	
1710	—	1778...Arne			
1710	—	1770...Avison			
1766	—	1837...Saml. Wesley	1714	...George I.	
1810	—	1876...Saml. Seb. Wesley			
					1600 ...First Opera (Jacopo Peri, Florence)

Preface.

BRITAIN'S pre-eminence in literature in the days of Spenser and Shakespeare is universally admitted. Any claim that she was at that period equally great in music is usually received (even in otherwise enlightened circles) with open ridicule or polite incredulity. We have preserved our Tudor literature, and can judge of its worth. We have not preserved our Tudor music, and are consequently ignorant of its very nature. Beyond a certain quantity of Elizabethan madrigals and fugitive church works, the compositions of that brilliant galaxy of musicians which included Fayrfax, Ludforde, Taverner, Merbecke, Whyte, Tye, Tallys, Shepherd, the two Mundys, Philips and (greatest of them all) Byrd, are all but unknown to the world of to-day. That these master-works should have been practically blotted out, and their very memory destroyed, is an historical phenomenon without parallel in any other country. Now, for the first time, a complete edition of the madrigals in which faithfulness to the originals is preserved is being issued (by Dr. Fellowes). Ecclesiastical and instrumental works of the period will shortly follow. When anything like a complete corpus *is in being, the wonder of students of the next generation will be that national monuments of such importance should have suffered four hundred years of neglect. The reasons for such*

neglect need not be enlarged upon here. It is sufficient to say that the first obstacle to their revival was their unsympathetic treatment at the hands of Burney and Hawkins, who regarded them as antiquarian curiosities. The second obstacle lay in the obsolete notation in which they are written, and which postulates a considerable amount of preliminary study before it can be sufficiently understood to make translation into modern notation possible. But the chief cause of our present-day ignorance is to be found in our musical text-books. In science, literature and art, text-books (even those for school children) are the work of experts, and are invariably in line with the latest research. Musical text-books, with comparatively few exceptions, have been the work of the hack. The earliest ones repeated Burney and Hawkins, and the later ones merely copied each other. Hardly one shows any sign of original research.

It is a pleasure, therefore, to find that Mr. Anderton is not content to repeat the old clichés. *His information concerning our forgotten Masters is derived at first hand from manuscript scores of their forgotten works. It thus acquires an authority not to be found in any similar publication. His book is therefore a document which no music student can afford to neglect, and for that reason I cannot recommend it too highly.*

R. R. TERRY.

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PORTRAITS.

William Byrd
John Bull
Orlando Gibbons
John Playford
Henry Purcell
— From the Music School at Oxford.

My thanks are due to Miss Nellie Chaplin, who kindly allowed the use of the blocks of the portraits of Byrd, Bull, Gibbons, Purcell and Playford.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

TO a true understanding of the growth of any art, or any stream of thought, some idea of the conditions amid which it took its rise is a valuable aid. A consideration of the early vintage dances and songs in honour of Dionysos affords many a clue to an appreciation of Greek drama: a study of the circumstances of Mohammed's life throws much light upon the teaching he enforced, and which was — relatively for its time and place—a true religion: a glance at the mystery-plays, miracle-plays, and morality-plays of early times helps one to appreciate the Shakespearean drama as a native and natural growth, modified and purified by scholars, rather than as an exotic from Greece debased by the abandonment of "the unities," as some writers have supposed; and the conditions amid which early English music grew up were so different from those of our own day that it will be well to try and picture them to our minds. In the space here available, it is impossible to make an exhaustive

study of the subject; but a rapid sketch may be helpful, and may suggest to some a more detailed examination of the matter.

After the fall of the Roman power, Europe relapsed into barbarism to a great extent; and what have been called "the dark ages" lasted till about 1300. The name is hardly a fair one; but the younger nations and races were only slowly growing up; they had the virtues and the defects of youth; and were at first chiefly interested in war and the contest for power. They did not show, on a large scale, any interest in art or thought: with but few exceptions, these could only thrive under the fostering care of the Church, which was the home of learning; but in the Church music was cultivated as an important aid to devotion, from the earliest times. Gibbon (III. Ch. 21), writing of the period of Arius and Athanasius (356-62), says: "Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody, were introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen, who were attached to the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks issued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined singers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the Glory to the Father, *and* the Son, *and* the Holy Ghost, was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices."

This early music was of course Plain-song, and modal in structure, the various modes (analogous to our keys, but differing among themselves in the order of their tones and semitones) being derived from the Greek modes.* Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, systematised the music of the Church, about 370, leaving a body of chants and hymns as his legacy. About the year 600 these were revised and extended by Pope Gregory, who sent the mission under Augustine to

* A further note on this subject is given at the end of this chapter.

England. By degrees the whole system was still further extended, new modes being added; but, so far as is known, these chants were all in unison, no simultaneous sounds, or harmony, being employed till long after this.

The writing down, or notation, of this music was at first very imperfect, the Neums, as Mr. Davey says in his history, being "principally a guide to recalling a known melody, and unsatisfactory in determining the pitch of a note." But about 900 all the F's were placed on a red line; then, later, all the C's on a yellow one above it; and, still later, another was added for the G's. Here, by filling in and extension, was the germ of the staff whose "invention" has been ascribed to Guido d'Arezzo, about 1024. Meanwhile, the idea of simultaneous notes had come into existence and was spreading, till a monk, Hucbald, of St. Amand, in Flanders (died 930), who also played his part in the evolution of the stave, using one in which only the spaces represented notes, the words being placed in these, and tones and semitones being indicated by letters at the beginning, gave instructions for combinations of sounds, directing a chant to be accompanied by other voices singing in fourths, fifths and octaves with it; he also, however, gives specimens in thirds and sixths.

When Pope Gregory, as just mentioned, sent Augustine's mission to England in 596, he sent with him various books; among them the celebrated Psalter, *Vespasian A.I.*, which was preserved in the abbey (Benedictine) at Canterbury. (Gasquet, *The Greater Abbeys of England*, p. 6.) There had already been monastic settlements in the island, however, mainly in Northumbria, though that at Glastonbury is also prehistoric in origin. But from this time abbeys and monasteries increased rapidly in numbers;

and in all of them music was employed and studied. Crowland Abbey was destroyed by the Danes; and all the eastern part of the country, including Canterbury, Ely, the Benedictine Abbey at Monkswearmouth, with its offshoot at Jarrow (Bede's home), and Whitby (Hilda's foundation in 657, and the home of Caedmon), passed into the hands of Guthrum, who was confirmed in possession of the Danelagh under the settlement with King Alfred in 878. By degrees, however, this portion of the island was rechristianised, and the abbeys and monasteries resumed their work.

Now the influence of these abbeys and monasteries in the cause of music can hardly be overrated. Music was used daily; and it was a personal need. In 735, when Bede, having finished his translation of John's gospel, died, he did so *chanting* the *Gloria Patri*. And the mass always needed the aid of music; so that as the numbers of the monasteries increased, and they spread over the whole land, their influence in this matter became very great. To mention a few of the chief: St. Alban's was founded by Offa, in 793, as a monastery for a hundred monks. It became a vast establishment, with magnificent buildings filled with metal-work, goldsmith's-work, cameos, &c.; and attained the rank of premier abbey among English Benedictine houses. In 1085 Abbott Paul presented eight psalters to the choir. Canterbury resumed its place. Bury St. Edmund's was founded about 903; and the body of St. Edmund the King and Martyr was enshrined there. It, too, became one of the most magnificent abbeys in the island. Something is known popularly of it through Carlyle's study of Abbott Sampson (abbott 1190-1212). There was a great abbey at Bermondsey, and many others in London, of which some account will be found in Besant's books on London. Those who have been to Glaston-

bury have seen the buildings, magnificent even in their ruin, which were the home of its monks. Here St. Patrick and St. Dunstan were buried. Evesham was founded as a Benedictine house in 701; Crowland in 716; Sherborne in 705; Gloucester in 679. Here, in 1378, Parliament was held, and High Mass sung in the king's presence. Battle Abbey was founded by William the Conqueror. "In the fifty years preceding the accession of King John," says Dr. Jessop, in his *Studies by a Recluse* (p. 22 *et seq.*), "more than two hundred monasteries were built and endowed." In the same book he gives interesting studies of two of the greatest abbeys, St. Albans and Bury St. Edmunds, which will repay examination. What a network covered the land may be gathered from the following list, which is by no means exhaustive: Beaulieu (Hants.), Buckfast (Dartmoor), Furness, Fountains (near Ripon), Jervaulx (Wensleydale), St. Mary's (York), Milton Abbas (Dorset), Netley (Southampton), Pershore (Bredon Hill, probably founded 682, broken up by the Danes, and re-established), Rievaulx (Yorks.), Romsey (Hants.), Sherborne (Dorset), Titchfield (Hants.), Tintern (Wye), Torre (Devon, near Brixham), Thorney (Cambs.), Woburn (Cistercian), Waltham (founded in Knut's reign, and endowed by King Harold), Waverley (near Farnham), Westminster (prehistoric), Welbeck (Notts.), Whalley (Lancs., Cistercian), and Ely, whose music is commemorated in an old ballad:—

Merie sungen the muneches binnen Ely,
Tha Cnut ching reu therby:
Roweth, Cnites, noer the land,
And here we thes muneches saeng.

Merrily sang the monks within Ely
When that Cnut, king, rowed thereby:
Row, my knights, row near the land
And hear we these monkës song.

Now these and many others carried on their work till the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. (1537-40). They were the homes of learning. Each had its great Scriptorium, where books were written and illuminated. Many had chroniclers, not only of their own concerns but of larger affairs. An example may be taken from St. Albans where the *Historia Major* was written, probably down to 1189, by John de Cella (abbot: 1195-1214); down to 1235 by Roger of Wendover (died 1236); and completed by Matthew Paris (1200-59), who also revised and amplified Wendover's portion. And the study and practice of music was also one of their chief occupations. As Dr. Jessop says in another book, *The Coming of the Friars*, part of the Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery was for the Precentor to drill his choir boys, tune the organ, look after the music and teach the elements of singing (p. 142).

I have left one abbey to the last, because it has a special bearing upon our subject,—that of Reading. It was a Benedictine house, founded by Henry I. in 1121 direct from Cluny, which was second only to Rome, says Belloc in *The Historic Thames*, and became one of the most influential and richest in England, with a church among the largest in the country. It was a home of art and learning. The founder was buried here and his monument destroyed under Edward VI. The Abbey was converted into a royal palace under Henry VIII., and so remained till its destruction in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. Little remains of the foundation, the greater part of the site being now public gardens *(Encycl. Brit.)*. In

the library of the abbey was found a MS. now preserved among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. This is a round—the *Reading Rota*, as it is sometimes called—written about 1226-36, before the battle of Evesham and Dante's birth (both 1265) in the reign of Henry III., *Sumer is icumen in.* And this brings us to another view of our subject.

In spite of the great share of the Church in the fostering and preservation of music, it is not to be supposed for a moment that all music was church music. Even from prehistoric times there were always glee-men and strolling minstrels. In later times there was the music of the wealthier and leisured classes; and always and everywhere there was folk-music: and it was from this double source —church and secular — that music as we know it sprang. Men are men, and natural feelings will out in song, as we see among children. Even clerics are men (in spite of their having been sometimes called the third sex); and, having learned their art in the Church, it was inevitable that some of them should exercise that art for the expression of spontaneous, natural emotion, as well as for the service of the Church, applying it to the upwelling of "secular" song, which was going on all around them and in their own hearts, and which can no more be silenced among men than among the bird-chorus of our woods and gardens. Folk-song is a bubbling and irrepressible spring. Many of our own songs and of the Hebridean songs recently recovered by Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser must date from at least as far back as Alfred. And thus it came about that the earliest specimen of really artistic music that we have (and that Europe has) is not a Church composition at all, but a poet's song uttering his delight in spring,—one of the most characteristic subjects of English song.

Folk-song is perennial, and as much more powerful in its gushing current than church music, as are the primitive natural passions of men than the religious instincts which awake later. We know that even among the Anglo-Saxons the harper and singer was the honoured guest at the feast. In the north, all were expected to sing; and Caedmon withdrew in shame because he could not, until the great gift came to him unexpectedly. King Alfred is stated to have learned songs as a boy and to have charmed the Danes to their undoing as a wandering skald in Guthrum's camp; and whether or not the legend be true, it at least shows the estimation in which music was held. St. Aldhelm, too (the builder of the curious little church at Bradford-on-Avon), who became Bishop of Sherborne, in Dorset, about 705, found the people half barbarians. "In order, therefore, to attract them, the bishop (who was a musician of no mean parts) used to place himself on a bridge with an instrument and sing to the passers-by ballads of his own composition. Mixing grave things with those of a lighter vein, the saint gradually won the attention and then the hearts of the people to religious matters." (*The Greater Abbeys of England:* Gasquet, p. 175.)

Although the continual wars here and on the Continent, the Conquest in England, and the stern repression under Norman rule, cannot have favoured the growth of music as an art, yet progress was made. Singing in parts spread; and Giraldus Cambrensis, writing about 1200 (i.e., in the time of King John, with all its troubles), says: "The Welsh do not sing their folk-songs in unison but in harmony;" adding that the English north of the Humber sing in two parts. But in the *Reading Rota*, written probably by John of Fornsete, in the south, only some twenty or

thirty years later, we have a round, or canon, in four parts upon a *pes* in two parts; and, as everyone knows, having its real charm even at the present day. Is this primarily due to the church? I think not.

We all know that the psychology of the artist is very different from that of the cleric. Some even say that there is a fundamental opposition between art and religion. This is not true, however, as such examples as Plato, Browning, Dante and Milton may show. There is, however, a real difference in outlook. The average artist is full of the glory and beauty of this outer world in which we live: all his interests lie there; and he is always keen and eager to find out new beauties. The average monk, or cleric, on the other hand, thinks more of another world and somewhat disparages this in comparison, using the art of this world as an offering to his deity, and supposing that it is sanctified by use and tradition. From which source would innovations be most likely to arise? The view of the Church has always been that ancient music is best and that innovations are anathema. We see the struggle continually going on around us still — artists modifying the art of the church (often unworthily) and the church resisting; but the point is that the innovations come from the artist class.

Now we know, by a punning passage in the *Apud Avaros* of Walter Map, that rounds were common among the people in his day. He was born on the Welsh Marches about 1137,—i.e., in the reign of Henry II. He studied at Paris, became intimate with Beckett, was sent on missions to Paris and Rome, and was brought a good deal into contact with the king. He held the living of Westbury (Glos.), near the scene of the Battle of Ethandune. He was a canon of St. Paul's, Precentor of Lincoln and, under Richard I., became Archdeacon

of Oxford in 1197. He died some time before 1210. A man, quick, bold, humorous and with a fine contempt for hypocrisy: he worked at the Arthurian legends and is the creator of Sir Galahad, the stainless knight, and the author of a number of satirical Latin poems, though he kept the secret even from his friend Giraldus Cambrensis. The passage mentioned was discovered by Chappell, is referred to by Davey in his *History of Music*, and quoted by Rockstro in Grove, where he says: "The poet counsels his readers as to the best course to be pursued by those who wish to 'move' the Roman law courts." After numerous directions, each enforced by a pun, he writes as follows (I omit the Latin) :—

When thou art sent to the notary, pour in thy gifts :
He will then at once extricate thee from the cause,
when, why or whencesoever it may have arisen,
And will subject the Canons to the form of the Round.

"Walter Mapes, an English ecclesiastic, speaks of *subjecting Canons to the form of the Round* with a homely *naïveté* which proves that his readers must have been too familiar with both Round and Canon to stand in any danger of mistaking the allusion. This form of music, then, must have been *common* in England before the middle of the 13th century." Legal canons are enactments of the law; and that side of the pun seems to refer to getting them into shape, making them subservient to the client's cause, as a clever lawyer has known how to do in all ages. Something may be gathered about the time when the *Rota* was written (in the reign of Henry III., before the Battle of Evesham) from Hayes's excellent dramatic poem *Simon de Montfort*, though of course not much of the life of the people can be shown in such works, as Shakespeare's chronicle plays also

prove. Still, such characters as Grosseteste and Roger Bacon appear to hint at the intellectual life which was growing underground to appear and blossom later.

Now I think the discovery of this canonic art could only have arisen in "profane" music. No tricks would be allowed in the services; but among a party singing folk-song it might easily occur, either by accident or by the intuition of some sportive genius, that he might begin the tune a little after the others; and if this in some cases sounded well the idea would catch on; and then the trained church musician might take it up and work it out systematically,—at first for such recreative songs as were outside the church use, and only later employing the device in church music. As a matter of fact, as will be seen, this kind of technique, common in folk-music in 1200, is only tentatively feeling its way into church music two hundred to two hundred and fifty years later, with Dunstable; and then growing gradually more assured in Fayrfax, Ludford and Shepherd. To my mind, it seems clear that something of this kind happened. In later times, the church has always had to seek the services of lay artists for her best work. All the finest masses and art-work come from this source. Palestrina, for instance, was called in to provide the good lay antidote to the popular lay poison. It is rare for great artists to be clerics. The influence of the abbeys and monasteries, however, was invaluable, and an essential factor in the problem. It was steadily maintained till their suppression in 1537-40, a vivid idea of which may be gathered from Hilaire Belloc's *The Historic Thames* and from the early part of *John Inglesant*; and their large musical libraries show what vivid interest was taken in the art.

Another important influence was that of the

Chapels Royal. The earliest records concerning these date from the reign of Edward IV. (1461-83), when apparently the organisation was a well-established thing. It then consisted of the following members: a dean, confessor to the household, "24 chaplains and clerks variously qualified, by skill in descant, eloquence in reading and ability in organ playing; two epistlers, ex-chorister boys; eight children; a master of the grammar-school; and a master of the children or master of song." The *personnel* varies from time to time, but this gives the idea. There were chapels at St. James's Palace, at Whitehall and at St. George's, Windsor; and the establishment was bound to follow the sovereign and the court. But in fact the services of the Chapel were confined to London, formerly to the chapel at Whitehall, which was burnt after the Restoration, and more recently to the small oratory in St. James's Palace. The Chapel has been of the utmost service to the art of music in this country, for the best music procurable was always wanted; and, as will be seen most of the best musicians became Gentlemen of the Chapel; and in consequence of its high place it went on without break through all vicissitudes, except during the Commonweath:—

> Men might come and men might go
> But it went on for ever.

A good many anomalies arose in this way. After Henry VIII.'s break with Rome, during two years—says Dr. Jessop (*Before the Great Pillage*, 63-4), the old ritual was kept up in the churches. "The Mass was still said or sung, prayers for the dead were still offered up and in an unknown tongue; and Henry VIII., in his last will, left vast sums to be spent in masses for his own soul." The first English *Prayer*

Book appeared in 1549. Change followed change. Persecutions of Protestants under Mary were followed by persecutions of Papists (tit-for-tat) under Elizabeth; but the Chapel Royal held the even tenour of its way until the Civil War overturned king and court; and it was restored with the Restoration.

Before this time, too (certainly by Elizabeth's reign), domestic music had attained vigorous life. In Northumbria in Caedmon's day, as we have seen, all were expected to take their share in song. During the Danish troubles, and at the Conquest of course, the spring must have been choked; but as the misery passed it gushed up again. Folk-song, as indicated, renewed its vitality; the wandering minstrels resumed their occupation; and instruments of various kinds were in the hands of all. In the *Canterbury Tales*, when the pilgrimage is starting, Chaucer says of the Miller:—

> A baggepipe wel coude he blowe and soune,
> And therwithall he brought us out of toune.

He speaks also of various other instruments, among them the "fidel" or "sautrie" (psaltery); and there is the "rote," a kind of harp, lute, guitar or viol,—its exact character is not known. These were in the hands of all. The movement of the Minnesingers and Troubadours abroad, about the twelfth century, would not be without its reactions here, as travellers were constantly passing and repassing. And there were leisured classes to whom easy circumstances gave the opportunity for music. Trade, of course, belongs to all ages, and there is always some evening leisure. Merchants have always been among the mainstays of every people: Chaucer has one among his typical figures in his memorable journey. They became very powerful; and Whittington, who entertained Henry

V., is said to have burned the King's bonds on that occasion in a cedar wood fire to the value of £40,000, equivalent to at least £120,000 now. Then there were the landed gentry (families such as Hampden's) and the noble classes. By the age of Shakespeare, it is said that every gentleman was expected to take his part either in singing or in playing the viols or virginals.

The first recorded instrument of this kind bore the inscription "Joannes Spinetus Venetus fecit, A. D. 1503." From this the spinet was named; and, with the rest of its family—virginal, clavichord (Bach's favourite) and harpsichord—served through the succeeding period the uses of the modern piano. Queen Elizabeth was a performer upon the virginals, and doubtless the instrument was in the homes of large numbers of art-lovers even before her time.

For strings, the viols—precursors of the modern violin, viola, 'cello and double bass—are said to have arisen in the fifteenth century; so that in the time of Henry VII. (1485-1509) there was probably the means for home music for keyed and string instruments in addition to voices. They were made, as is still the case, in four sizes, and had five, six or seven strings, tuned in fourths. Their tone had a peculiar sweetness and mellowness, which harmonised better with the harpsichord than does that of our modern violins, &c., with the piano. The performances by Mr. Arnold Dolmetsch and by Miss Nellie Chaplin of the music of this period on the old instruments afford a real education on the subject which should not be neglected.

Organs, of course, had been early introduced into the monasteries, and we shall find that many of the writers referred to later held appointments as organists in one or another of the cathedrals or abbeys. Organs

were in existence, in fact, before our era. One stood in the Temple at Jerusalem. Theodoret (393-47) speaks of organs with pipes of copper or bronze; and Theodosius (*ob.* 393) erected one at Constantinople. St. Aldhelm (*ob.* 709) refers to organs among the Saxons, with their front pipes gilded. Pepin, Charlemagne's father (714-68), obtained one from Copronymus, Emperor of Constantinople; and in 811, Charlemagne erected one at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 822-6, too, he received one as a present from the Caliph Haroun al Raschid of the *Arabian Nights*, a pneumatic organ of wonderfully soft tone. St. Dunstan (925-88) erected organs in Malmesbury and Abingdon Abbeys, as well as in numerous other churches and convents; and Bishop Elphege (*ob.* 951) erected one in Winchester Cathedral. These instruments were manipulated with slides, which opened and closed the pipes. But towards the end of the eleventh century organs with key-boards came into use, with a compass of about sixteen notes; and thereafter improvements and extensions of compass were gradually introduced. Dante, writing about 1310-20 (*ob.* 1321) speaks of "Dolce armonia da organo" (*Paradiso:* xvii., 44). At first, then, these instruments were rude in construction and were used simply to support the voices in plainsong; and even in the *Mulliner Book* (*c.f.* Cap. XVI) of the time of Henry VIII., we shall see that there is little or no distinction between choraland organ music. It was the same with virginal music till dances came to be written for it; and with music for viols, which at first simply played with the voices. They then played the choral pieces alone; and finally had music specially written. All three instrumental styles have arisen from choral and dance music.

The Wars of the Roses kept the country convulsed for thirty-five years almost without cessation.

Misery was carried into every home; the monasteries must have suffered similarly; and such a state of things must have acted like a blight on an art so sensitive as music, as we have found even during the shorter troubles of the recent war. It soon raised its head, however, when the storms were over; and Wolsey, in spite of his readiness to sacrifice the monasteries on the altar of Henry VIII. and Mammon, had ideas as to the music suitable for the Mass which contain a significant admission confirming what I have said as to the influence of secular on church music. He sent round special statutes to the Augustinian canons, among them being details as to choral singing: "Canons must be present at choral services, especially matins and the principal mass. And with all ecclesiastics, and especially *religious*, that method of singing is deservedly approved which is not intended to gratify the ears of those present by the levity of its rhythm, nor to court the approval of worldlings by the multiplicity of its notes; but that in which plainchant raises the minds of the singers and the hearts of the hearers to heavenly things" (Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, p. 74). The cardinal therefore requires its use and forbids "prick-song" and orders that no laymen or boys are to join in cănonical singing. "They may do so however in any of the numerous other masses *daily sung in most religious houses*" (p. 74). He also encourages the use of the organ as a support to the voices, which are tired with continual use (p. 75). "Pricke-song" is written music, as opposed to extempore descant: "He fights as you sing prick-song" (*Romeo and Juliet; Cham. Encycl. Dict.*). That is, Wolsey will have the orthodox counterpoint of trained clerics and no invasion of the popular music,—a confession that it occurs. And in fact we

know that it has always done so. What else are the *l'Homme Armé* and the *Westron Wynde* masses? What else were the masses against which the Pope invoked Palestrina's aid? Does not Schweitzer show that the German Passions, &c., were similarly influenced by opera? And that Bach himself carried out the same impregnation, only in a truly sublime manner, in the *Matthew Passion* and similar works? The process goes on and must go on, everywhere and everywhen. Man's thought is not divided into water-tight compartments. The two must act and re-act on each other: the problem is to find the just and true marriage, not an adulterous union.

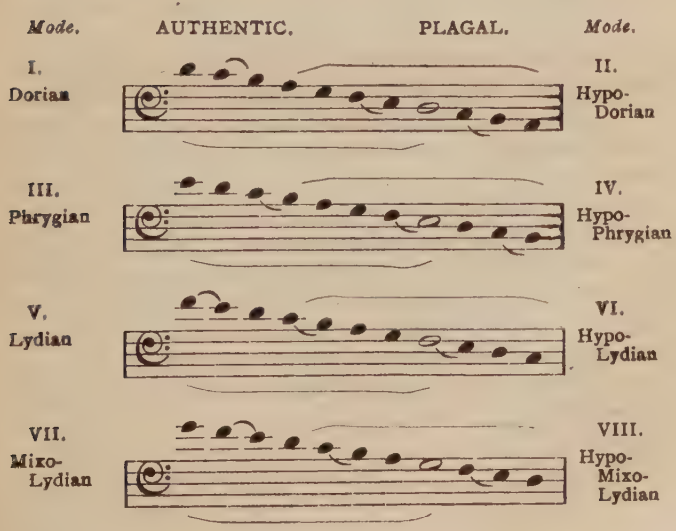
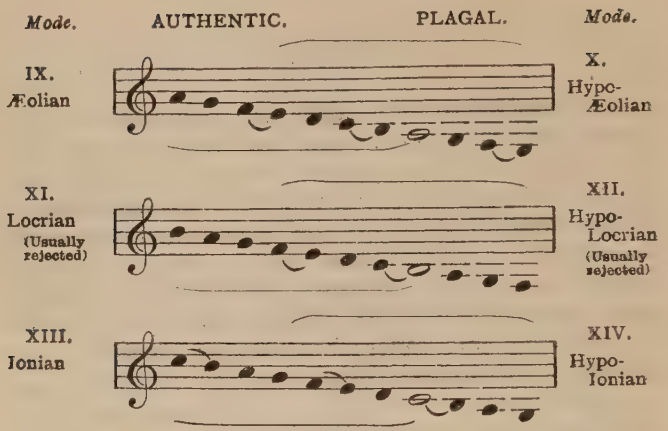
A few words must be added as to the notation of these old MSS. They are unscored, and unbarred, the separate parts being written in the old plain-song script which Morley (1597) says that he makes "plaine and easie." Anyone who goes into the matter, however, will think differently, though the difficulties may be overcome with patience. The notes are large, long, breve, semibreve and minim; and thus they constitute "measured music." But the values differ according to the time, their position in a passage, or ligature, the position of their tails, and whether the passage is rising or falling; besides which they differed in different times and countries; and the rules are so complicated that it sometimes seems as if they were purposely made so in order to keep out would-be intruders and make the guild a close one. Comparatively few modern musicians can pretend to a knowledge of these mysteries; and the scholars say that safety can only be bought with at least two years' experience. The deciphering of the old manuscripts, and the scoring of the music, constitute a special department to which a select few devote themselves; but we can all avail ourselves of the

results of their scholarship, and benefit by the treasures of musical beauty and artistry which they bring to light. In the same way, without being Sanscrit or Hebrew scholars, we can avail ourselves of the results of the philologists to form a judgment on Vedic or Biblical thought. "Others have laboured, and we have entered into their labour." I, personally, make no claim to this special expert knowledge, and have to thank those who have enabled me to become acquainted with and to form a judgment upon writers who, but for them, would have remained beyond my ken. And of these I would specially mention Dr. R. R. Terry, of Westminster Cathedral, who has lent me many masses, &c., and given me much valuable information; and Mr. H. B. Collins, Mus.Bac., of the Birmingham Oratory, to whom I am indebted in a similar manner. Special instances will be mentioned in their places. A couple of notes on the modes, and on notation, are given below.

Dr. Terry, as editor under the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, is preparing a monumental edition of the Elizabethan writers, and including a few of earlier periods, such as Taverner; so that the work of all the composers here treated of will shortly be available for examination.

Another thing that should be mentioned is this. People often speak of the false accentuation of these old writers, through the fact that unaccented syllables fall at the beginning of the bar. This, however, is due to a mere misapprehension. It should be remembered that the originals are unbarred. Bar-lines should be treated merely as convenient signs of measurement. The regular mechanical accent, so common in the present day, should be avoided; and all should be sung with elasticity and freedom.

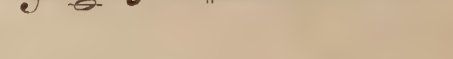
MODES.

Details as to the modes are easily accessible in Grove and elsewhere: here, the main outlines only can be given. There are two kinds,— Authentic and Plagal. They may be shortly described as consisting of the white notes of the piano, each mode beginning on a different note. Thus, the scale starting from D is Dorian; from E, Phrygian; and so on. Connected with each mode was its "Hypo," so called from the Greek word ὑπο, under; because the music lay, not between the normal octave, but a fourth lower, thus including another tetrachord. The table will make this clear. The white note indicates the Final of the mode, what we should call the key-note:—



Thus, taking the Dorian as an example, if the range be from D to D, with D final, the piece is Authentic; if the range be from A to A, with D final, it is Plagal.

The Locrian (and partner) are sometimes called *Hyper*-Æolian, and *Hyper*-Phrygian (not *Hypo*), that is *above*, or *super*-Æolian, and *super*-Phrygian, they being a degree above Æolian and Phrygian respectively, and *super* being equivalent to the Greek ὑπερ. But this scale is usually rejected. Another point to be noticed is that the Ionian (our C scale) appears the same as Hypo-Lydian. It must be remembered, however, that the Final (key-note, as we should say) in the one case is C, in the other F; and thus, the centre of gravity being different, all the relationships are different. This holds good, of course, in other cases.

It must also be remembered that the modes are sometimes transposed by means of signatures, or accidentals; so that



is Lydian transposed,— i.e., our F scale with a B♭. This may be seen by comparing the sequence of intervals. The mode has been transposed down a fourth for convenience of pitch :—

These transpositions were usually made by changing the position of the clef.

In the Lydian mode, a B♭ was often used to avoid the augmented, or tritone fourth, F-B. By degrees, the Ionian, and the Lydian with a B♭, were felt to be most satisfactory, and the others were altered to resemble them ; and thus came the change to the key-system.

NOTATION.

The notation of Mensurable Music was a slow growth which varied in various times and places : it is thus far from easy, as has been said, to make clear. A few indications may, however, be given ; and the student who wishes to examine the subject systematically must be referred to special works. Morley, Playford, Burney have treatises on the matter ; and in more recent times there are, easily accessible, Rockstro's articles, *Notation* and *Ligature*, in the earlier edition of Grove, and Abdy Williams's in the later edition. Dr. R. R. Terry, of Westminster Cathedral, also is doing a series of articles in *Musical Opinion*, which are to appear later in book form. Students could not do better than consult this treatise.

Speaking generally, we may say that during the three hundred years between *Sumer is icumen in* (1250-65) and *The Mulliner Book* (1545-50) the system was somewhat as follows:—

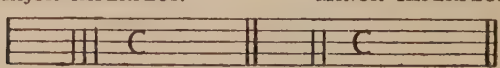
(1) The relationships between *large*, *long* and *breve* were called *Mood* (not to be confounded with the modes). *Mood* was perfect (triple) or imperfect (duple). In perfect *mood* the *large* was equal to three *longs* and the *long* to three *breves*. In imperfect *mood* the *large* was equal to two *longs* and the *long* to two *breves*. The time signature for perfect *mood* was a circle—the symbol of eternity, the Trinity and thus perfection— together with certain rests, as given below. Imperfect *mood* was indicated by a half-circle and from this comes our sign for 4-4, sometimes explained as the first letter of the word *common*. Of course, at this time, there were no bars. The rests before the circle indicate major or minor,—i.e., whether referring to the relative values of *large* and *long*, or of *long* and *breve*.

MAJOR (i.e., Large and Long) PERFECT.

MINOR (i.e., Long and Breve) PERFECT.

MAJOR IMPERFECT.

MINOR IMPERFECT.

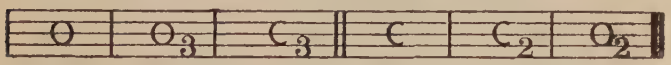


Speaking of this part of the subject, Dr. Terry writes: "Both Morley and all the other authorities divide the *moods* into perfect and imperfect; but in actual practice, in the sixteenth century, I have never come across a case of perfect mood." And again: "You

might have the Greater Mood perfect and the Lesser Mood imperfect, in the same piece; and *vice versâ*.

(2) The relationships of breves and semi-breves were called *Time*, the *breve* equalling three semi-breves in perfect time and two in imperfect. The signatures were as follows :—

PERFECT *Time.* IMPERFECT *Time.*



(3) The relationships of semi-breves and minims were called *Prolation*. These were not called perfect and imperfect, but *major* and *minor*. The signatures were as follows :—

MAJOR *Prolation.* MINOR *Prolation.*

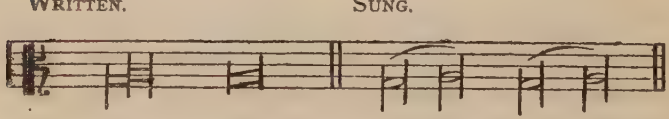
It will thus be seen that the signs for perfect *time* and minor *prolation* were one and the same,—only one instance of the numberless anomalies and confusions with which the student has to deal. A line drawn through the circle or half circle denoted the diminution of the values by half; so that the *long*, e.g., equalled a *breve*. (The *alla breve* signature of modern times is a relic of this rule.) The case is as stated when some parts have a stroke through them, and some have not. If all the parts have the stroke, this merely indicates a quick speed.

There were elaborate rules for the use of dots; and all these rules led to the construction of enormous timetables, the complication of which (says Abdy

Williams) may be gathered from a remark of Hamboys that "if the *large* be *perfect*, it contains 3 double longs, 27 breves, 81 semibreves," &c.

"Morley tells us that if a note which should be white is written black, it loses a third of its value, but he means a quarter," says Abdy Williams, and then goes on: "There is, however, often a little uncertainty with regard to the degree in which a black note is to be shortened." On this question, Dr. Terry says: "Put briefly, it amounts to this. A black note, in perfect time, loses a third of its value; a black note in imperfect time loses a quarter of its value." Speaking broadly, we may say that when, among white notes, the square headed black notes are used, these indicate triplets in our notation. There is often, too, a difficulty in distinguishing between crotchets and "black minims."

(4) When two or more notes were to be sung to one syllable, these were written in what was called *Ligature*,—i.e., the notes were joined together thus:—



but the rules for *ligature* were very complicated. For instance, Rockstro says: "Two square white notes in ligature, with a tail descending on the right side are *longs*, whether they ascend or descend, and whether they be separately formed or joined into a single oblique figure. Two similar notes with a tail descending on the left are *breves*." On this, Dr. Terry comments: "This is only the case if (*a*) the ligature is an oblique one, or (*b*) if it is square and the second note

ascends. If both notes are square and the second note descends, it is long, thus :—

With regard to ligatures of notes without tails, Abdy Williams goes on: "Sometimes, but not always, if the passage be a descending one the notes are to be sung as *longs*; or the first may be a *long* and the second a *breve*. But this exception is a rare one; and it is safer to assume that the strict rule is in force, unless the fitting together of the parts should prove the contrary."

These few notes will give the reader some idea of the conditions to be understood by students of this early music. The subject needs special and long study; but, given these, experience does lead to practical certainty in deciphering the MSS.

CHAPTER II.

General Survey.

IT is not altogether a healthy sign when a man or a nation begins to live very much in the past and to give itself up to centenaries. In the case of the individual, it usually indicates that the wheel has come full circle, that his work is done and that there is nothing left but to gather up his harvest of memories and depart. In the case of a nation, it is usually the prelude to a period of torpor, though this may itself be a needed period of rest preparatory to a fresh outburst of life. When, however, this gathering up of the past is accompanied by a vivid flame of actual life and effort, it is an altogether good and desirable thing. And, in fact, without this ruminating over what has been already experienced, man's work in the present must inevitably suffer. Thus, the interest which has been awakened of late in the earlier English composers is all to the good, for it is certain that we are now in a blossoming-time of art.

In our student days, Bach and Handel stood for us as the Pillars of Hercules: they were the limits of the ordered world beyond which it were not profit-

able to sail. A few organists of antiquarian tastes might delve among the musty tomes of early church music, but to the public and the normal sane musician these were only food for bookworms. A wiser view is now taken. And just as the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood harked back to the times of Cimabue and Giotto and so enriched their work, just as Spenser went back to Chaucer and modern poets to the Elizabethans, so we are beginning to enquire about our own musical ancestry; and to this end, a brief review of the subject as a whole, preliminary to the discussion of individual writers, may be not unacceptable.

In the Middle Ages, England was fully on a level with, if not pre-eminent over, Continental writers, as is evident from Gulielmus Monachus, writing about 1400. John Dunstable, too (died 1453), was held in the highest honour on the Continent, as Tinctoris's references show. But there was, of course, no sharp dividing line between English and foreign music, all following alike the liturgy of the Roman Church. The beginning of the separation came with the changes inaugurated by Henry VIII. Slightly before and during these changes a group of English composers did fine work, — Fayrfax, Lambe, Ludford, Taverner, Shepherd, and Merbecke (or Marbeck). Of these we shall speak in some detail later. In 1536 the first complete copy of the English Bible was printed and dedicated to the King, who ordered one to be placed in every parish church. This was the Coverdale translation, based upon Tyndale. The Mass, however, was still performed in Latin. In 1544 Henry went a step further and ordered the Litany to be read in English; and in 1545 he promulgated a collection of English prayers for Morning and Evening Service, in place of the Breviary. Mean-

while the monasteries were practically all suppressed in 1538-40. Thus by degrees the whole service came to be performed in English, and the need for musical services arose: the psalm tune, "a purely Protestant invention," sprang up; and the place of the Latin motet was taken by the anthem, so named from the word *antiphon*, itself so called on account of its antiphonal structure, the two sides of the choir (*Decani* and *Cantoris*) answering to each other in responsive phrases.

Our chief source for this music is a collection issued by Dr. Boyce in the following circumstances. In 1641, Barnard (a minor canon of St. Paul's Cathedral) had made, under the patronage of Charles I., a collection which was issued (as usual at that time) not in score but in part books. Single copies were often lost and the sets spoiled; and, when the liturgy was abolished during the Commonwealth, large numbers were seized and destroyed as belonging to a superstitious ritual. Dr. Greene (died 1755) attempted to retrieve these disasters, but left the work incomplete and bequeathed his papers to Dr. Boyce (1710-79). He, after further laborious research (he said that so rare had Barnard's books become that only at Hereford was a complete set to be found), issued the collection, Vol. I appearing in 1760 and Vol. III. in 1778. We owe Boyce a deep debt of gratitude. His work was an invaluable one; for by far the greater part of the church music of this period is preserved by him and by him alone.

To come now to the actual contents. The anthem, *O Lord, the Maker of all things* (Vol. II., No. 1) is good grave writing. The ascription to Henry VIII. is, however, probably a mistake. It has been attributed to Mundy; but it is now pretty generally agreed that the real author was John Shep-

arde, organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1542-7. The chief composers of this period, however, were Redford, Farrant, Tye, Whyte, and Tallis.

John Redford (1491-1547), who died in the same year as the king, seems to have been first in the field. Nothing of his, however, is preserved by Boyce. His anthem *Rejoice in the Lord* is a fine work, full of imitations and good in *technique*. The discords employed are suspensions and passing notes, and the whole is serious, strong, and earnest in tone. Farrant was a member of the Chapel Royal and died in 1580. Little of his work remains, but that little is good, earnest stuff. Of Tye, who was contemporary with Farrant and died in 1572, we have rather more left to us. Of both these two we shall speak later. Suffice it to say that they are at times purely harmonic—or rather, they write first species counterpoint, note against note—their work being exactly similar to our hymn tunes, whose origin we can in fact discern in them; at times they are more extended and imitational. The discords used by them also are suspensions and passing notes. The greatest man of this period, however, is undoubtedly Tallis, who was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, — a period covering many changes of state religion. His works reflect these changes, some being written in Latin for the Roman Church and some in English for the Anglican. Some of his anthems reach a very high level and his scholarship was remarkable. Him also, however, we shall discuss at a later period.

It will be seen that the changes in church matters led to curious results musically. The composers of the time wrote sometimes in Latin for the Roman Church and sometimes in English for the Anglican.

Tallis and others remained at the Chapel Royal (somewhat like the Vicar of Bray) under both dispensations indifferently ; and much of their music (as was the case with Byrd subsequently) was written to Latin words and adapted to English. From a purely musical point of view, the Chapel Royal was a godsend. The greater works of Tye, Tallis and others could only be heard privately at times ; organs were temporarily silenced. The Reformers here, as in Rome in Palestrina's time (1524-94), wished to abolish all music save the plainchant ; but the Chapel Royal, like Tennyson's brook, ran on for ever,—the same in all conditions alike. All the principal composers were employed there and it was in fact the salvation of the art.

We now come to what may be called the period of maturity, in which the chief figures are those of Gibbons and Byrd. When it is remembered that Spenser, Marlowe, Jonson and Shakespeare, Bacon, Drake, Raleigh and Sydney were also contemporary, some idea may be formed of the stimulating intellectual atmosphere of the time. Of both Byrd (1543-1623) and Gibbons (1583-1625) we shall speak later. We will only remark here that they have left us work which would be an honour to any school and that they were the peers of their great contemporary Palestrina. The *Missa Papæ Marcellæ* was written in 1563. The work of Bull (1562-1628) will also be discussed in its own place. Of Morley however, another distinguished writer of the period, a Burial Service by whom is preserved in Boyce, a few words may be fitly given. He was admitted a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1592 ; edited *The Triumphs of Oriana*, which was ready by 1601, though it did not actually appear till 1603 ; and died, according to Hawkins and Burney, in 1604,

according to Boyce in 1602. Barnard printed a Service in D minor, an Evening Service in G minor and an anthem of his, and left in his manuscript collections a Preces, psalms, responses and three anthems. A motet, *De Profundis*, in six parts, also exists in manuscript. The only work that Boyce printed is a Burial Service in G minor. It is a deeply touching work, with an oft-recurring downward cadence that reminds us of the "dying fall" of which the Duke speaks in *Twelfth Night*. It is characterised by extreme simplicity, but here and there imitations are used without giving any impression of artifice.

The climax of this period was now passed, but some excellent work was still being done. Dering, writing about 1617, has left some anthems with a distinct individuality. He is not especially strong in virile qualities, but shows a real tenderness and a sense of beauty and gladness. His *Anima Christi sanctifica me* is deeply devotional with the kind of devotion shown in Mozart's *Ave Verum*. *O Vos Omnes* ("Ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow") is also a very fine and touching piece. In *Silence prevailed in heaven* (six parts), at the words "when the dragon contended," he has the effect of the chords of A and E together, the C♯ being held right into the E chord. On the whole, however, he is perhaps best in the "Alleluias" that follow with their spontaneous gladness. One of his best anthems is *Whom saw ye, O Shepherds?* Boys' voices open; men reply; full chorus follows with imitation and then the angelic choir sing their Alleluias. Boyce has preserved nothing of Dering: he has been recently "discovered" by Sir Frederick Bridge. All that is available of this writer has been given by Dr. Terry at Westminster Cathedral. One

personal point of interest attaches to his work,—he played David to Cromwell's Saul. The Protector, in his darker moods (though not in them only, apparently) was deeply affected by Dering's music, as was Saul by David's,—a relationship vividly portrayed in Browning's poem.

The political disturbances now caused a falling off in the production of good work, as the career of Rogers may indicate. He was organist at Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, till the Irish massacres in 1641, and then returned to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where he was reinstated in the choir. The Civil War again threw him out, but he obtained a salary and received the degree of Mus.Bac.Cantab. by Cromwell's mandate. His compositions were sought after on the Continent, and he wrote the music for the homecoming of Charles II.

More gifted, however, were a group of three Children of the Chapel after the Restoration,—viz., Pelham Humfrey, Michael Wise and John Blow. Humfrey was sent to Paris by the king to study under Lully ; on his return, was admitted a Gentleman of the Chapel (1667), and died in 1674. He has left really fine work. Boyce gives seven anthems, of which the best is perhaps *O Lord, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?*—an elevated and very pathetic composition. Both this and *Have mercy upon me, O Lord*, contain the chord of the augmented sixth, unprepared, some dozen years or more before Bach's birth.

Wise was appointed organist at Salisbury Cathedral in 1668; Gentleman of the Chapel, 1676; Master of the Choristers, St. Paul's Cathedral, 1686; and died 1687. He has left some interesting anthems that give evidence of real feeling. *Awake, Awake!* is good stuff and more continuous than a good deal of

contemporary music, the latter part made more so by a choral Hallelujah (nine bars) which is used four times and serves to bind the whole together. In *Prepare ye the Way*, he uses the chord 6-4-3 which Handel as a rule so respectfully shunned.

Blow is on the whole the biggest man of the group; or, at least, shows the greatest achievement, though it should be remembered that Humfrey died at half his age. He, however, will be discussed on a future occasion and we will now pass on.

Jeremiah Clarke, who succeeded Blow in 1693 as Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral and shot himself through a love trouble in 1707, is interesting ;* more especially that (as in the Case of Blow and others) the manner which characterises Purcell and which Handel adopted and enlarged is often distinctly present,—a fact which gives these writers a peculiar importance historically. Boyce has preserved one anthem—*I will love Thee, O Lord*—which shows this "Handelian" manner strongly marked. At the words "The sorrows of death," the music becomes really fine and a continually recurrent phrase in the bass, used also for the solo (bass), helps to make a really impressive whole. At the chorus "The earth trembled," we have diminished sevenths with a trembling effect adopted from the Frost Scene in Purcell's *King Arthur*. Altogether, the anthem shows real musical power.

William Turner (who died in 1740 at a very advanced age) was also a Gentleman of the Chapel and a friend of Humfrey and Blow; and the three wrote in collaboration an anthem—*I will always give thanks*—"as a memorial of their fraternal esteem and friendship." An anthem by himself in E minor—*Lord, Thou hast been our refuge*—is a fine work, full

* C.f. Car. XIV.

of feeling and impressive without assumption of scholarship.

A more important man, however, was Dr. Child (1606-97), who was appointed one of the organists of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, in 1632 and shortly afterwards one of those of the Chapel Royal. His music is at times rather of the Mus.Doc. type. The Service in D is imitational in style and contains two 4 in 1 canons, two 4 in 2 and one 2 in 1. The old crudities of part-writing, too, have not yet been altogether purged away. His anthem, *Sing we merrily*, is, however, an excellent work, imitational in style but with solid masses of trumpet-calls at "Blow the trumpet." The closing Hallelujah, too, is really fine.

We now arrive at the second climax in the person of Henry Purcell,—a really great genius and one who deserves considerable space. Following the plan hitherto adopted, therefore, we shall defer the discussion of him till a future occasion, only remarking the Handelian character of much of his work, the anthem *O Give thanks* being in fact a Handel oratorio in little.

Such are the most important writers, though of course there were others, good in their day, whom space forbids us to do more than mention. Aldrich we shall discuss later. We may, however, speak of Robert Creyghton, D.D., a son of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been in exile with Charles II. He became a canon of Wells Cathedral in 1674, where he died in 1736, *æt.* 97. He spent much time in composing for the services there, and Boyce preserves a specimen, *I will arise*. It is very short, comprising only twenty-six bars, of which ten are repetition; but the piece is full of devotional feeling.

We thus reach the time of Bach (1685-1750) and Handel (1685-1759), the latter of whom lived and

worked in England from 1710 till his death, so that Creyghton's activity fell during his presence here.

The best known English writer following upon Purcell is, of course, William Croft (born 1677), who became joint organist of the Chapel Royal with Clarke in 1704 and succeeded him as full organist in 1707. He followed Blow as Master of the Children and Composer to the Chapel in 1708. In 1710 he became Mus.Doc.Oxon., and in 1715 Teacher of the Royal Children, with an additional eighty pounds of salary. In 1724 he published two volumes of anthems in score, the well known *Burial Service* being the last of the set. He died in 1727, and with him the line of the great writers ended; though he himself can only be said to belong to it by a little of that charity which covers so many sins. Not that there are many sins to cover in his case; he is almost immaculate. His work is that of a sound and accomplished musician. Unfortunately, the one cardinal sin in art is there,—the lack of the higher imagination and of interest; a sin intensified in his successors. Thackeray could not draw; he could never master the figure; he was constantly and glaringly incorrect. Yet he had the knack of catching the humour and essence of a situation; he had imagination. We have seen one of his novels illustrated by an orthodox artist, polite and faultlessly correct. But the life, the humour, had evaporated: these were lay figures, and one turned back to Thackeray's living, though faulty cuts, with a sigh of relief. Somewhat similar is the case with Croft and Purcell.

We will now glance at the secular vocal and instrumental side of the art. The earliest collection we have is *The Mulliner Book* of Henry VIII.'s time, which will be discussed in its place. The most valuable of all the instrumental collections, however, is

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, of which and of one of its chief contributors, Giles Farnaby, we shall also give some details. Then there was *Parthenia*, a number of pieces for viols by Byrd, Bull and Gibbons, the first work engraved on copper, which appeared in 1611. Others are *My Ladye Nevell's Booke* (all pieces by Byrd), *Benjamin Cosyn's Book*, *Will Forster's Book*, *Elizabeth Rogers' Book*, *Pammelia*, *Deuteromelia*, and *The Melvill Book of Roundels*, which has been edited for the Roxburgh Club by Professor Bantock and myself. All these are of the period Henry VIII.-Charles I., except the *Elizabeth Rogers' Book*, which was written under the Commonwealth. A valuable source for dance tunes is Playford, who published in 1651 a work entitled *The Dancing Master*, which has proved a veritable mine of wealth for such things. We shall give a little space, also, to Chas. Avison (1710-70), celebrated by Browning. In addition to all this and in another department of the art there is the Elizabethan group of madrigal writers,—Weelkes, Wilbye, Morley, Gibbons and the rest, of whom also we shall speak in due time.

Let us now turn to a study of the individual writers whose efforts have co-operated, by the natural laws of growth, to the living plant—roots, stem, leaves and blossoms—of musical art.

CHAPTER III.

John Dunstable.

OF the art of music during the hundred and fifty years or so which followed the composition of *Sumer is icumen in*, we know little or nothing. The social and political troubles, both here and on the Continent, formed a poor soil for such a growth. The struggle for the regular establishment of Parliament, for which Simon de Montfort gave his life, was carried on; and under Edward I. (1272-1307) this was achieved. Wars with Scotland and France, the terrible famine of 1314-15 and the other troubles of Edward II.'s reign, culminating in his deposition and murder, the renewed Scottish and French Wars and the plague of Edward III.'s reign (1327-77) combined with the perennial oppression and misery of the poor, led at last to various risings, chief of which was that under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw in the days of Richard II. (1377-99). These were hardly the conditions for the growth of art; still, the seed grew slowly. The

Church became very corrupt, as may be seen from the satire of Chaucer (1340-1400) and from the passionate invectives of Langland (*circ.* 1342-1400). Amid these adverse conditions, however, the ferment of thought was at work. Wiclif (*circ.* 1325-84) cast his leaven into the lump; John Hus, who was burnt in 1415, owned him as master; and to him again Luther was indebted. Meanwhile, Wiclif's translation of the Bible and the preaching of his wandering "poor priests" spread Lollardism far and wide, and doubtless contributed indirectly to Wat Tyler's rebellion, as apparently also more directly did Langland.

The first musical figure that emerges from this welter is that of John Dunstable, who may probably have been born before the end of Chaucer's life and so link us back to him. We do not know the exact year of his birth; but, as he died in 1453 (the year of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks), it may well have been in 1400 or earlier. His childhood would thus come during the terror caused by Tamerlane's career (died 1405); his younger manhood during the French wars of Henry V. (died 1422); and his later life during the disastrous French war under Henry VI. (1422-1461), in which Jeanne d'Arc took part, and Jack Cade's rebellion. It closed just before the opening of the Wars of the Roses (1455-85), the general disorganisation of society produced by which seems to have been the cause that led to the extinction of his fame for four hundred and fifty years.

His place of origin is unknown. It has been generally regarded as Dunstable in Bedfordshire, and is so given in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as well as by Hawkins. But there is no actual evidence of this; and, as Fuller-Maitland truly says, the identity of name is of no weight so late as the fifteenth century. On the other hand, even if the John Dunstable

to whom (with his wife and others) a manor in Herts was conveyed in March, 1449, were the musician, as is not unlikely, this is no indication as to his birthplace, as he might have migrated into this part of the country. That the Abbot of St. Albans (also in Herts) knew him, we have evidence, as will be seen; and this is a point in favour of the identity of the owner of Broadfield and the musician.

Of his life, then, we must be content to know nothing. He achieved a great reputation. Joannes de Tinctoris (1434-1520), of Brabant (and for a time of Naples), the musical theorist, historian, and author of the first Musical Dictionary, writes of him in monkish Latin as follows: "Whence it comes about that at this time the power of our musical art grew so rapidly that it is seen to be a new art; of which new art the fountain and origin, if I may so speak, is said to have been among the English, of whom Dunstaple stood forth as the head; and contemporary with him, in Gaul, were Dufay and Binchois." This last is true; but Dunstable seems to have been the elder. Binchois died in 1460, seven years after Dunstable; and Dufay in 1474, twenty-one years after Dunstable.

Dunstable is said to have been not only a musician, but also a mathematician and an astrologer. These statements seem to indicate a mind of liberal culture. Mathematics would stand for the logical side of his intellect, and his music shows indications of such an aspect of his nature: and it should be remembered that Roger Bacon also believed in astrology, which probably represented the mystical side of life in that age. Its connection with mathematics, too, suggests a scientific bent (as in Roger Bacon's case) which may have been associated with the secret doctrines which were veiled beneath a fantastic terminology by the true alchemists as distinguished from

the vulgar hunters after physical gold. He died December 24th, 1453, and was buried at St. Stephen's, Walbrook, where, as the antiquary John Stow (1525-1605) states, the following epitaph was inscribed on "two faire plated stones in the Chancell, each by other." The lines are in monkish Latin, and corrupt, but may be translated thus: "In this mound is contained one who himself contained the firmament within his breast,—John Dunstaple. Skilled in the stars, he could with his finger point out and reveal the secrets of the heavens hidden by Urania. This man was your glory, your light, your dominant music; and it was he who had spread your sweet arts throughout the world. Add to the year of Christ 14 hundred, and a fifty, and three. On the day before his birthday he went to join the stars as a constellation. May the citizens of Heaven receive him as their own fellow-citizen."

John of Whethamstede, Abbott of St. Albans, mentioned above, also wrote an epitaph which is preserved in Weever's Funeral Monuments (1631). It was apparently written as an expression of regret for the loss of a personal friend, who seems to have impressed those around him with his attainments and fine character. This also is in monkish Latin; the translation runs: — "Here a musician, another Michael, a new Ptolemy, and a younger Atlas upholding the skies by his strength, rests beneath the dust. No better man was ever born of woman, for he had no part in the corruption of vice, and was singular in possessing all the wealth of virtue. Wherefore let him be longed for, and in that longing be it besought that the fame of John Dunstaple may be spread abroad throughout the years; and may he rest in peace here for ever."

Dunstable's fame seems to have travelled far and

wide. As early as 1480 he is mentioned in a MS. written at Seville, which is now preserved in the Escorial: and there are various other references to him, a summary of which is given by Fuller-Maitland in his article in Grove's Dictionary. Oblivion soon covered him in England, probably—as the writer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* suggests—owing to the misery caused by the Wars of the Roses, which penetrated every level of society.

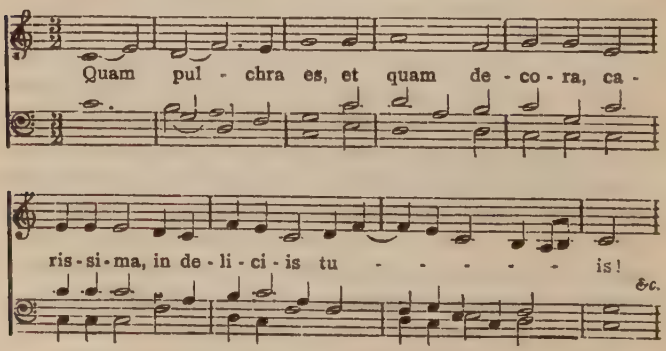
Let us now take a rapid glance at some of his work. The *Dictionary of National Biography* states that, "A MS. collection of longitudes and latitudes, written in 1438 by Dunstable, is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The British Museum and Lambeth Libraries also contain examples of his music." There are also specimens at Rome, Bologna, and Dijon; and a Modena MS. containing 31 motets has been copied by Fuller-Maitland, who has now placed copies in the British Museum. Ravenscroft, too, quotes a work of his on *Mensurabilis Musica*; but until the end of the nineteenth century very little was known of his music.

(1) *O Rosa Bella* (3 parts) was discovered at the Vatican in 1847; and another copy, later, at Dijon. I have not had an opportunity of hearing this; but Fuller-Maitland says that, "its effect in performance, considering the period when it was written, is really extraordinary, and quite equal to anything of Dufay's," who died, it will be remembered, twenty-one years later. A facsimile of this MS. is given in the Trent Codices (Austrian Denkmal), copies of which are at the British Museum, The Birmingham Reference Library, and elsewhere.

The mathematical side of him, musically speaking, seem to have inspired the *Enigma* in the British Museum, which has not yet been deciphered. In the

same library there are also a three-part piece (as is most of Dunstable's work) without words, and a *Kyrie.*

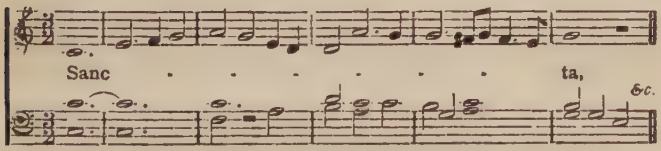
The *Oesterreiches Denkmal (Sechs Trienter Codices; I)* has nine pieces by Dunstable which show him in a very favourable light. (1) The first of these is the facsimile of *O Rosa bella*, already mentioned. (2) Fuller-Maitland gives in Grove's Dictionary the three-part song *Quam pulchra es*, a piece of 54 bars, which he scored from a copy (of course unbarred) at Bologna. With a few variants, this is the same as the version in the Austrian Denkmal, and is readily accessible. It is for mezzo-soprano and two tenors. The parts frequently cross, as is common in all this early music; in fact, the middle part, in bars 2-3 is the real bass; and similar crossings of all the parts constantly occur. The time is 3-1. The piece is a setting of some verses from the *Song of Songs*, and has a definite, tuneful idea, with a simple, natural charm. The copy in the Denkmal opens as follows:

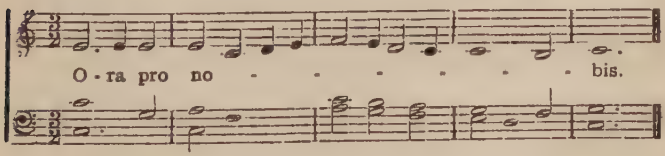


(3) The three-part song, *Puisque m'Amour* (33 bars), is written for mezzo-soprano, tenor and baritone, the last having the F clef on the third line. Here we

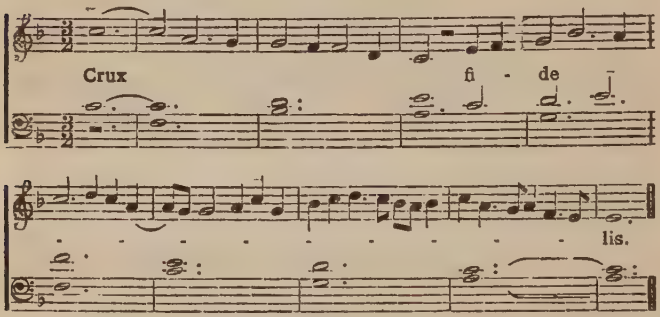
have, in bars 6-10, a definite imitation in the octave at a bar's distance, between the top and bass parts: another, also at a bar's distance, between tenor and mezzo at the sixth above, at bars 23-6: and at four bars' distance, a fourth below, between mezzo and tenor, at bars 26-33, this being the close. The interweaving of the strands of real parts, and the polyphonic treatment of definite phrases, are thus being incorporated with melodic folk-song as the tissue of musical thought.

(4) *Sancta Maria* (3-1, 60 bars), is also in three parts,—mezzo, and two tenors, the first tenor being often the real bass. I give the opening bars, as the cadence shows a characteristic turn of Dunstable's phraseology:

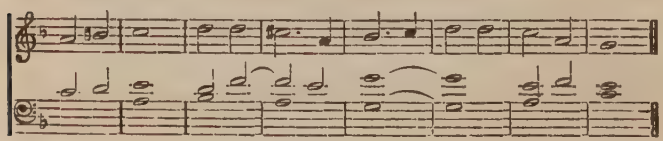


There is variety in the cadences, and a real devotional feeling; and contrast is secured by a considerable passage in two parts before the three-part climax towards the end is reached, beginning:

(5) Perhaps the most attractive of these pieces is *Crux fidelis* (three parts, 3-1, soprano and two altos). This shows the same kind of mystical devotion as the *De imitatione Christi* of his great contemporary,

Thomas à Kempis (1379-1471), whose life probably overlapped his at both ends. It runs to 181 bars: and in a piece of this length the constructional difficulties were of course very great in Dunstable's time. Cadences, with stops, are frequent, but they show some variety. The motet opens as follows, with a melodic sweep of touching expression:



After 71 bars, there is a section of 35 bars in two parts *(dulce lignum)*, and then follows the last portion, in duple time, in which occurs the following phrase, the augmented fifth having, in this place, a striking effect:



The parts as usual cross a good deal, and in all this early music long phrases, even including rests and repeated notes, are sung to a single syllable; but this is the idiom of the time and, as pointed out in the chapter on Taverner, appears even in Bach's work two hundred years later. The motet is too

long for use as it stands, but might still be performed with good effect if judiciously cut; and it certainly shows Dunstable's powers in a highly favourable light when the paucity of earlier experience is considered.

(6) Similar in idea, but to my mind very much less successful musically, is the motet *O Crux gloriosa* (three parts, 3-1, alto and two baritones, F clef on third line, 155 bars). Here also we have the *lignum pretiosum*; but Dunstable does not seem to have found the musical language, in this case, to utter his feelings so well as in the piece last named. As before, variety is given by portions in two parts and by a change to duple time. Technique is gradually being acquired and this work is an interesting specimen of its growth.

(7) There are two settings of *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, both upon a plainchant. Into the first, the mathematical side of Dunstable's mind enters, and, for us, enters into music; for this is the earliest case we have of the sort of ingenuity that later became so common. The piece is in three parts (3-1, mezzo-soprano and two tenors). The plainsong is given in the Denkmal unbarred, at the beginning. The motet opens with nine bars for the two upper parts before the plainchant enters; and there is a direction in Latin as follows: "Canon: et dicitur prius directe, secundo subverte lineam, tertius revertere removendo tertiam partem et capias diapente, si vis habere tenorem *Sancti Spiritus*." As indicated, the plainchant appears three times (in the lowest part),—first direct, then by inverse movement, and lastly taken backwards *(cancriscans)* and a fifth below. If it be the case that Dunstable made no score, even in the first instance (of which there is no evidence, the *Rosa bella* MS., for instance, being given one part

after another on one side of the paper), this shows a remarkable clearness of thought of the mathematical type; and anyhow it is an interesting case, as indicating the introduction of this kind of intellectual work into church music. It is hardly wonderful that the music itself is not so attractive as that of *Crux fidelis.*

(8) The other *Veni Sancte Spiritus* is in four parts—three in addition to the plainchant, which is here in the first tenor—the parts being soprano, mezzo and two tenors (alto clef). In this case, the score looks rather complicated, there being three bars of the accompanying parts to one of the plainsong. For ninety bars, the time is 3-1, and then changes to 2-1. This also lasts for ninety bars. 3-1 is then resumed (bar 181) and the plainchant is given three times as fast, the bars now co-inciding with those of the other parts. The same remarks apply to this as to the preceding piece.

(9) The last piece is *Sub tuam protectionem* (three parts,—mezzo and two tenors, 179 bars). It opens in 2-1 time, but at bar 157 changes to 3-1. There is the same interweaving of parts, the first tenor being often for instance the real bass. It is an interesting piece of work, but, like No. 7, has not to my mind the musical feeling and attractiveness of *Crux fidelis.*

Altogether, Dunstable's work, so far as I have made its acquaintance, is a fascinating historical study and indicates that he must have been a man of great powers — and of considerable all-round culture — when we consider his other lines of thought. He was evidently one of the chief formative influences in the growth of musical art; and it is full time that the mists of oblivion that have so long obscured his figure should be dispersed and allow him to stand forth in the light of just recognition. Morley, in his

Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musick (1597), animadverts severely upon Dunstable, thus :—

"We must also take heed of separating any part of a word from another by a rest, as some dunces haue not slackt to do ; yea, one whose name is Johannes Dunstaple (an ancient English author) hath not only diuided the sentence, but in the verie middle of a word hath made two long rests thus, in a song of foure parts vpon these words, *Nesciens virgo mater virum* :

[*Specimen given.*]

"For these be his own notes and words, which is one of the greatest absurdities which I haue seene committed in the dittying of musick."—(Ed. 1771, p. 203.)

It was doubtless well that Morley had emancipated himself from this weakness ; but his magisterial condemnation of the faults of a past age shows some lack of the historical sense and is hardly so admirable. As mentioned elsewhere, we find this peculiarity long after Morley,—in Bach's *B minor Mass.*

CHAPTER IV.

Fayrfax, Lambe, Ludford.

JOHN DUNSTABLE, as we have seen, died in 1453. In 1455 the Wars of the Roses began, and the country was in constant turmoil for thirty years until the accession of Henry VII. in 1485. Henry VI. was, of course, of the House of Lancaster. His insanity led to the Duke of York's being appointed Protector, and thenceforth the struggle began. Henry was dethroned in 1461, and Edward IV. (of the House of York) became King. A few years later he had to flee to Holland, and Henry was recrowned; but in 1471 the Battle of Barnet reinstated Edward, and Henry was murdered in the Tower. In 1483 Edward died. His little son Edward V. reigned for eleven weeks, and was then succeeded and murdered by his uncle Richard III. The Lancastrian line, owing to his crimes, was able to raise its head once

more; and in 1485 the Battle of Bosworth placed on the throne Henry VII., who by his marriage with Elizabeth of York (daughter of Edward IV.) united the rival factions and made a lasting peace.

Such an art as music was not likely to flourish very vigorously in these conditions, some notion of which may be gathered from Shakespeare's chronicle plays of the period; and the next figure that stands out amid the turmoil is that of Robert Fayrfax, of whom we first hear as taking his degree as Mus.Doc. at Cambridge in 1502. He will thus probably have been born some twenty years after Dunstable's death, in Edward IV.'s reign, about 1472-5; for it is hardly likely that at that period he would reach such a goal (not in the regular classical course) before approaching thirty years of age. The *Dictionary of National Biography* (Fuller-Maitland) speaks of his belonging to an ancient Yorkshire family; and Grove's Dictionary (Arkwright) adds the tradition of his having been born at Bayford, Herts. The antiquary, Anthony Wood (1632-95) says in his MS. Notes at the Bodleian that he became organist (possibly between 1490 and 1500), *Informator chori* or Chanter, at St. Albans. Here we have an interesting link with Dunstable; for this organ, which was considered the finest in England, was presented to the Abbey in 1438 by that Abbot, John of Whethamstede, who (as we have seen) was probably a personal friend of Dunstable and wrote for him a very warmly expressed epitaph. Fayrfax is therefore quite likely to have met here with some of his great predecessor's work.

He apparently held this office in 1502, for he then received twenty shillings "for setting an anthem of Our Lady and St. Elizabeth" (*Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York*: March 28, 1502), of which more anon. Early in the same year (*Dict. Nat.*

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Biog. says 1504), as already mentioned, he took his degree as Mus.Doc. at Cambridge, his "exercise" being a five-part Mass, *O quam glorifica*, at present at Lambeth Palace. Only the *Gloria* bears his name, it is true; but, as Fuller-Maitland says, the other portions (which are in the same choir-book) are probably part of the same work, which is not specially interesting. He received the same degree (the first on record) at Oxford in 1511.

Immediately on the accession of Henry VIII. he became a Gentleman of the Chapel; and on June 22nd he received an annuity of £9 2s. 6d., probably worth at least £50 of our money. Apparently he took complete charge of some of the urchins of the Chapel; for in 1510 and the two following years he received pay for instruction *and board* of choir-boys, "the King's Scholars." On September 10th, 1514, he was appointed one of "The Poor Knights of Windsor," with an allowance of 12d. a day in addition to his annuity. One or two other small financial details are given in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* and Grove's Dictionary.

Apparently he increased his income by writing and illuminating music MSS., as state papers have entries for work of this kind,—e.g., "for a book £13 6s. 8d.;" "for a book of anthems, £20;" "for a pricke-song-book, £20;" "for a balet boke limned [or illuminated] £20." The celebrated *Fayrfax MS.* (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 5465) is quite possibly one of these. The title page gives his arms, indifferently done, resembling those of the Fairfaxes of Deeping Gate, Lincs. The book contains the not very interesting two-part song *That was my woo is now my most gladnesse*, which Burney surmises to have been written as a congratulatory ode to Henry VII. after Bosworth. If this be the case, he could hardly (as Fuller-

Maitland points out) have been born later than 1570, which even then would only make him fifteen years of age. But Burney does not seem to have gone upon actual evidence but upon the sentiment of the last two lines :—

Wherefor I am, and shall be tyl I dye,
Your trewe servaunt with thought hart and bodye.

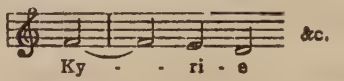
The book also contains the three-part piece, *Most clere of colours and rote of steadfastnesse*, &c.

In 1520, the Gentlemen of the Chapel, Fayrfax "being named at the head of the Singing-Men," attended Henry VIII. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. He probably died within the next five years, as his name does not appear in the list of the Gentlemen of the Chapel on January 1st, 1526. In any case his death had certainly taken place before December 2nd, 1529. He was buried in St. Alban's Abbey, under a stone afterwards covered by the mayor's seat, regarding which Fuller-Maitland explains that the title-page of the *Fayrfax MS.* erroneously says *mayoress's*.

Most of Fayrfax's extant works are still in MS., and a list is given in Grove's Dictionary. Here we can only glance at a few. Two of his songs, *Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* (four parts) and *My Heartes lust* (three parts), were published in Wynkyn de Worde's *Song Book* (1530). Four Masses, — *Regali*, *Albanus*, *Tecum principium*, and *O bone Jhesu*, are in the Oxford Music-School collection, and other libraries, notably the St. Alban's MS. at Lambeth Palace which has also the *O quam glorifica* mass.

(1) The opening of the *Missa Regali* (five parts), of Henry VIII.'s reign, is most impressive. One imagines it breathing in the lofty vault of St. Alban's

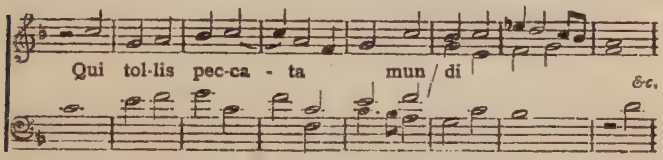
Abbey, three-parts men's voices, rising and falling with a mysterious tone of intercession. The *Kyrie* is taken, as is usual at Westminster Cathedral, from the first *Agnus Dei*. There is a real devotional and living spirit breathing through this music. The way in which one voice after another takes up the pleading phrase :—



is quite touching. The entrance of the upper parts after this sombre opening adds the wonderful beauty of light : but after the entrance, the effect is not quite so convincing, as there are now five parts to handle. The parts are hardly so free, and the result is more harmonic : but the prolongation, and dying away among the arches of the final *eleison*, given by the lower voices, is really affecting. There can be no doubt that Fayrfax's music was the vehicle of emotion as well as an intellectual art : and, following Dunstable, imitation, and the vitality of the parts, are on the increase. There is no *Gloria* or *Credo*. The *Sanctus* opens with the upper four voices ; but after 20 bars the bass is added, and the remainder is real five-part writing, carried out with freedom. The *Benedictus* is almost entirely for the three lower voices, the upper two entering only at the *Hosanna*, 13 bars from the end, to make a bigger close, the rhythm changing here to triple time. The writing is imitational and shows feeling, though not, perhaps, so much as that of the *Kyrie* of which I have spoken above, and which is now repeated in its original place as the *Agnus Dei*.

(2) The *Missa Albanus* (five parts), the name of which is evidently connected with Fayrfax's position

at St. Alban's Abbey, and a portion of which I have heard, is another good specimen of his work. On this, however, it is hardly necessary to enlarge after what has been said of the *Regali*. Burney gives two extracts,—(*a*) the *Qui tollis*, which opens with an imitation, as far as the *deprecationem nostram*, where the other voices enter :—



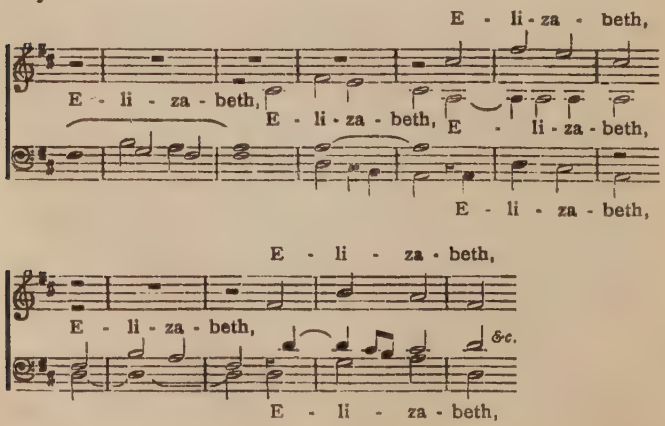
In this, also, variety of effect is secured by passages in two parts. At the *Suscipe* the lower two parts are employed ; and when the upper ones enter, four bars later, it is with an imitational point. Burney gives also (*b*) the *Quoniam tu solus*, a piece of real feeling in which, however, he makes a mistake. It opens with the three upper voices ; and in the twelfth bar there is a transfer from the three upper to the three lower parts. Burney, however, carries it on in the same set. The return to the original group later is similarly treated, two effective contrasts being thus missed. This also is a fine work, and especially so when its period is remembered. Burney gives a *verse* from "another mass ;" but this I have not identified.

(3) The *Missa Tecum Principium* (5 parts) has no *Gloria* or *Credo*. It shows much the same characteristics and methods as the other two. The use of small figures of imitation, and of long passages of a quiet devotional character in the grave tones of the male voices, is again apparent,—e.g., in the *Agnus Dei* : but we have not, I think, the peculiar quality of the opening of the *Regali*. Of course, it must be

understood that what I have said of the impressiveness of this passage does not imply suitability for the concert-room. Its brooding, mystical, and meditative nature would only be revealed in the special surroundings for which it was written.

For a sight of these masses I am indebted to Dr. Terry, who has kindly lent me the versions prepared for Westminster Cathedral.

The motet *Aeternae laudis lilium* (5 parts) has been lent to me by Mr. H. B. Collins, who copied it at Lambeth. It derives a special interest from the fact, to which he drew my attention, that it is almost certainly the anthem mentioned above, as having been written at St. Alban's in 1502, for the visit of Lady Elizabeth of York. The first part celebrates Mary, the Lily of eternal praise, the Flower of Maidens. Later on, the words *virgo singularis*, applied primarily to her, become prominent. Then the descendants of Jesse are mentioned, culminating in Zacharias and Elizabeth, the parents of John the Baptist. At this point the various voices take up the name imitationally :—



To my mind the internal evidence is overwhelming, and leaves no doubt that this was written for performance in Elizabeth's presence, just as so many of the plays and masques of the Elizabethan period, and earlier, were arranged with complimentary double meanings to be applied to the royal personages in the audience. To mention only two, *The Tempest* contains *doubles entendres* of this kind: and the passage in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* containing the lines :—

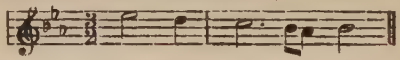
> And the imperial votaress passed on
> In maiden meditation, fancy free

was a subtle flattery of Queen Elizabeth.

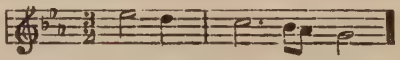
There is much that is charming about the motet. It opens imitationally in the three upper parts, with a figure from which the passage just given seems to be derived. Points of imitation are common throughout. After a time contrast is given by the transfer to the three lower parts. Here also are imitations; and the germinal phrase, standing later for Elizabeth, again appears in the first tenor, on the word *benedicta*, —a delicate touch. The five-part writing that follows is less interesting: and this is often the case: the parts tend to become merely the means of giving the harmony. The names of the off-shoots from the stem of Jesse follow, in two-part writing for first tenor and treble. A transfer is then made to the second tenor and bass, from which, after a few bars, the name of Elizabeth rises, swells, and dies away, in the passage given, which must have produced a striking effect in the lofty vaulting of St. Alban's Abbey. Three-part writing follows: and then the final five-part section opens. Towards the end, at the *Amen* there succeeds another real imitational passage on two figures, the first of which is again derived from the germinal phrase. On the whole it is a really inter-

esting piece, contains much of considerable charm, and shows how the interweaving of recognisable strands into a tissue, or web, which we saw initiated by Dunstable, is becoming now the basis of musical thought in church works, as well as in secular art, where we have found it in the *Reading Rota*, two hundred and fifty years earlier.

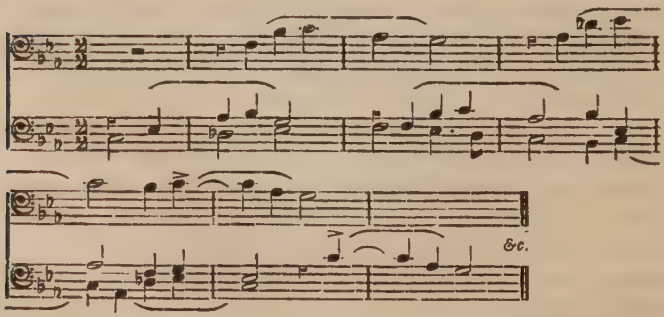
The magnificat *Primi Toni* (five parts) which, too, was copied at Lambeth by Mr. Collins, has also been lent to me by him. This, too, is an interesting piece of work, though not perhaps, to a modern musician, so attractive as some of the other pieces. This, however, is difficult to judge without actually hearing a performance, which I have not had an opportunity of doing. It is in five parts, which are mostly real parts, in comparatively short sections with cadences, and of course very distinctly modal in idiom. There are points of imitation, mostly in a figure (or its variants) which occurs in bars 6-7 :



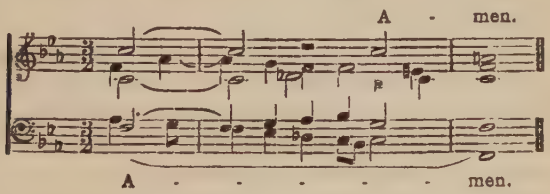
and whose most characteristic form is :—



Other imitational figures however occur, such as :—



at the section *dispersit superbos mente cordis sui*. The words are here omitted, as the long passages, with rests, to a single syllable, in the manner of the time, makes the wording of a short extract like this unintelligible. Variety of effect is given by passages in three parts and by changes from 3-1 to 2-1. The close gives, in the bass, a variant of the first figure quoted above :—



Burney classes Fayrfax with Taverner and Tye (p. 555), saying :—

"having scored an entire mass by each of them, as they are the most ancient and eminent of these old Masters, in whose Compositions the style is grave, and harmony, in general, unexceptionable, if tried by such rules as were established during their time ; but with respect to invention, air and accent, the two first are totally deficient."

The reader will probably agree, in face of what has been said, that this is hardly a true appreciation of the work of a man who (as Anthony Wood states) was in his day "accounted the prime musitian of the nation," who, in the early formative days of budding experience, has evidently played no small part in the development of musical art and who has thus prepared the blossom and fruit of later times.

II.

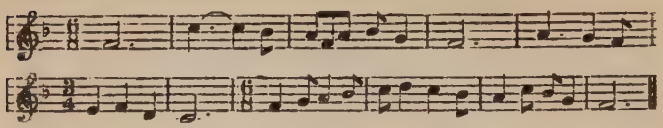
Before passing on to Ludford, we will glance at another writer who has been brought to my notice by Mr. Collins. There is a motet, *O Maria, plena gratia*, in the Lambeth and the Eton MSS., by Walter Lambe, who seems to have been about contemporary with, perhaps a little earlier than, Fayrfax. The motet is in six parts and of course quite modal in idiom. It shows that when it was written a good technique was being achieved. It opens in two parts, alto and tenor, second tenor and bass then take up the thread, and then the second bass and treble; after which there is a section in six parts, the second tenor opening with the plainchant that the tenor had at the beginning. Then comes a section for alto and first bass, followed by one for two tenors and second bass. Four-part writing, with triplets, succeeds, gradually increasing to six parts. A considerable section for two tenors, followed by one for alto and tenor, then leads to three-part writing (second tenor and two basses), which again brings us to a six-part section. More two-part and three-part writing then leads to the final section, in which all six voices are employed. The parts are real parts, though in places the design is mainly harmonic, and small points of imitation appear from time to time. As will be gathered, there is variety of effect; and altogether the piece is an interesting find. It is far too long for any ordinary liturgical purpose, but it seems that such pieces were probably used at a service after vespers. The shorter three part sections of such works appear to have been used separately, since these portions have been frequently found in part-books, have been thought to be complete works, and only related to their place of origin later, on the whole motet (more rarely copied)

being discovered. If it be the fact that Lambe was earlier than Fayrfax, his work tends to show that progress in musical feeling and technique had reached a good general level.

III.

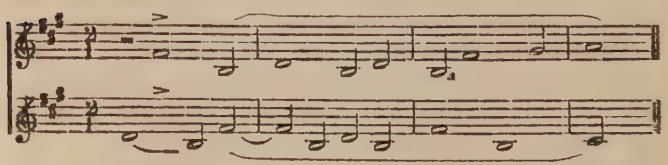
Nicholas Ludford's name appears neither in Grove, nor in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and no information as to his life is available except that he was about contemporary with, possibly a little later than, Fayrfax. Several of his masses are in use at Westminster Cathedral, including seven for three voices,—one for each day in the week. (*Brit. Mus. Roy. App., 45-7*). Of these perhaps the finest is the *Missa Sabbato*, which has many interesting points. The *Kyrie* opens with a plain-song chant for bass solo: and the choir then responds, the bass having the phrase which the solo has just enunciated. This idea of the alternation of plain-chant and choral writing is followed throughout, and is very effectively managed. It is an example of the early practice, as Burney says (556), of writing upon a plain-song: but this particular method is not the most usual procedure. The work is in short sections with cadences. In the next section, then, the same plan is followed; but the choral basses vary the solo phrase slightly, keeping the same notes at the beginning of each (modern) bar. And still more is this the case with the following section. This mass is interesting from another point of view. Just as Taverner, Tye, and Shepherd wrote really living masses upon a folk-song — *The Westron Wynde*—so here, Ludford attains a singular vitality by the use of what has every appearance of being a folk-tune, though its origin is unknown.

This, the chief melody, is rhythmically alive, and, the notes being shortened, runs :—



This mass has been scored by Miss Townsend-Warner, from a set of books belonging to the Chapel Royal, and has been kindly lent to me by Dr. Terry.

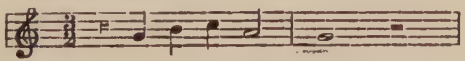
The same method is followed in the other masses of the set. The long phrases including rests, on a single syllable, of which mention has been made elsewhere, are very noticeable in all. The *Missa Domenica*, like the others, is in short sections with cadences, and is varied by portions in two parts, — sometimes the upper and sometimes the lower pair. Points of imitation occur as, — e.g., at *suscipe deprecationem* (two parts); at *Te plenam fide* (two parts); and at *Veris veri* (bass and treble, three parts). Imitational points occur also in the *Sanctus*, and the *Agnus Dei*. In the first of these a curious result of the constant habit of part-crossing occurs :—



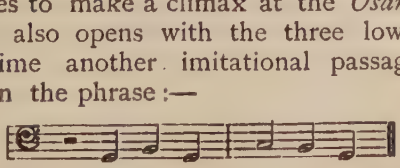
The idea, of course, is the imitation, and at first sight the effect looks doubtful: I am told, however, that it sounds better than it looks, the different quality of voices of different registers making it clear. Similar,

though less curious, instances often occur. One must not, however, look upon this music as one would upon modern art, but must accept frankly the different outlook, else no real appreciation is possible. In performance these masses are really impressive, as I know from actual experience. But, of course, these works would not be suitable for the concert-room: they live, move, and have their being in the church. This mass has been lent me both by Dr. Terry and by Mr. Collins.

The mass *Lapidaverunt Stephanum* is for five voices. The *Kyrie* is sung at Westminster Cathedral to the music of the *Agnus Dei*. It opens with a long passage for the three lower voices, which should be affecting. The alto part then enters and the tenor is silent. This then returns and the treble is added: there is thus constant variety, and a broad effect is built up towards the end. The movement is certainly real music, and not of merely antiquarian interest, as some are inclined to suggest. The *Sanctus* opens with an imitational phrase in the three upper voices: and later, at the words *gloria tua*, the whole musical tissue is woven of imitations among the five parts, of the phrase:—



with fine effect. The music then passes to the three lower parts until the added brightness of the top voice comes to make a climax at the *Osanna*. The *Benedictus* also opens with the three lower voices. After a time another imitational passage occurs, founded on the phrase:—



and its variants: and the five parts are only again

employed for a climax at the *Osanna*. The *Agnus Dei*, as already stated, is the same as the *Kyrie*.

Altogether the work is a fine one and, in fulfilling its devotional functions, should be most impressive in effect.

In the Caius College MS. of this mass there occurs a piece of sub-acid contemporary satire. An illuminated initial letter shows a fox, dressed as a friar, with a crozier in his hand, and the words :—"The faux is next kynne to ye ffryer." The same irony is to be found in some churches, where the carved choir-stalls represent foxes in monks' hoods.

Other masses of Ludford's are *Videte miraculum* (six parts), *Benedicta*, and *Christe virgo*. There are also some at Peterhouse, in two parts.

Altogether it is interesting to observe in Ludford's work generally, a continued growth of technique and vitality of part-writing, as well as of the expression of genuine musical feeling.

CHAPTER V.

John Taverner.

THE next of this earlier group of musicians whose reputation is now rising again after a long night of oblivion, is John Taverner. Little is known with certainty of his life. He is spoken of as belonging to Boston, Lincs., and as being an organist of that town; but Arkwright, in his article in Grove's Dictionary, shows that this last statement is to some extent conjectural. At any rate, when Cardinal Wolsey founded Cardinal College, Oxford (now Christ Church), in 1525, Taverner was appointed Master of the Children there, with a salary of £10 a year, besides other allowances making £15 in all, equal, perhaps, to £50 now :* and this was "a higher sum than was allotted to any officer of the college except the dean and sub-dean" *(Dict. Nat. Biog.)*. It was his duty also to play the organ at St. Frides-

*Hilaire Belloc ("Historic Thames," p. 136) says we should multiply by twenty, hich would make £300 per annum now.

wide's, which was used as the college chapel; and Arkwright gives an account, by a contemporary, of his having heard him there.

It will thus be seen that Taverner's lot was cast in troublous times. Henry VIII.'s reign (1509-47) caused much searching of hearts, especially among all connected in any way with the Church. The monasteries were practically all suppressed by 1538-40, and the separation of the Anglican from the Roman Church was rapidly carried out. The ferment, however, was of course at work earlier; so that before Wolsey's fall, and shortly after the foundation of Cardinal (Christ Church) College, it "became a hotbed of Lutheranism; and several members of the College, Taverner among them, were accused of heresie unto the Cardinall, and cast into a prison within a deep cave under the ground of the same Colledge, where their salt fyshe was layde, so that through the fylthie stinche thereof they were all infected, and certaine of them taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased. Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding Clarke's books" (another prisoner) "under the bordes of his schoole, yet the Cardinal for his Musicke excused him, saying that he was but a Musitian, and so he escaped." (Anthony Delaber, quoted Arkwright, Grove's Dictionary.) Foxe adds: "This Taverner repented him very muche that he had made songes to Popishe ditties in the tyme of his blindness:" and this may be so, though his remaining works are practically all masses, or in Latin. In 1530 he contributed three songs—*My harte my minde*, *Love wyll I* (both *à* 3), and *The bella* (*à* 4)—to Wynkyn de Worde's song-book: and these, with a two-part *In women no season is rest or patience*, in the Bucking-

ham Palace Library, are his only settings of English words extant.

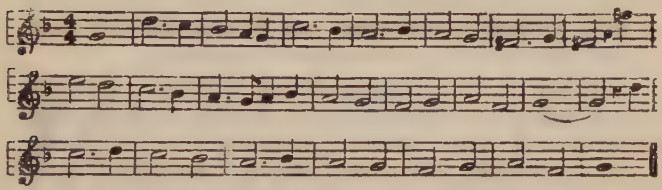
Little more is known. His connection with Cardinal College lasted at any rate for five years ; for in 1530, the year of Wolsey's death, the account books show a payment to him of £5. In view of Foxe's statement quoted above, Arkwright's suggestion that he probably died before the accession of Edward VI. seems reasonable ; for thereafter music was wanted for the English service ; and this, with his known sympathies, he would have been likely to supply. Of his further career, however, we are ignorant : " He died at bostone and there lieth,"—this, a note in Baldwin's MS., Christ Church, is the sum of our knowledge.

Taverner's life and work, then, came in what may be termed the Dark Ages of music. Henry VIII. was, in a sense, himself a musician. In his youth he was educated for the Church in the learning and art of the time ; and it was only the death of his elder brother Arthur that called him unexpectedly to the throne. His own writing is dull. Certain madrigals, such as *The Time of Youth* and *Pastime with good Company*, have been attributed to him, but the ascription is doubtful. The anthem *O Lord the Maker of all Things* (Boyce's Collection, II. No. 1) has also been attributed to him, but this is probably a mistake. Barnard and Mundy, have each been regarded as the author ; but opinions now incline to Shepherd. Of the two last we shall speak later. Suffice it for the present to note that there were musicians of real power even during this dark period : among them let us mention Merbecke (1523-85), and Mulliner, whose name is not even mentioned in Grove. The after influence of the Renaissance, however, affected music, till we have on the Continent, Palestrina (1524-(8)-

1594), Orlando Lassus (*circ.* 1532-94), and Vincenzo Galilei, the astronomer's father, (1533-1600). Opera was "invented" about 1600 by Jacopo Peri (1561-1633) and Caccini (1550-1618). Carissimi came a little later (1604-74); Allegri, author of the celebrated *Miserere*, (*circ.* 1580-1652); Heinrich Schütz, of whom Schweitzer speaks as "un grand maître, le plus grand que l'histoire de la musique réligieuse ait a citer avant Bach" (*J. S. Bach*, p. 75) lived from 1585-1673; and Buxtehude, from whom Bach learnt so much, not till 1637-1707. Remembering these dates, it will be readily seen how different, and how much poorer, was the soil from which musical genius had to spring and draw its nourishment in those days, than is the case since it has been enriched with the work of these men, Bach, and subsequent writers. Taverner was antecedent to all of these: and his work is therefore the more remarkable.

Grove's Dictionary gives a considerable list of Taverner's works, of which I can mention here only a few. One of the most—perhaps the most—attractive, is the mass written upon a melody current at the period, *The Westron Wynde*. It will be remembered that all the work of this period is modal: this of course applies to this mass, and, to us, gives it part of its attraction, since a touch of remoteness and strangeness frequently acts as a charm. The song was evidently a favourite, for three composers, Tye, Shepherd, and Taverner, wrote masses based upon it. All are good: Tye's broad, and rather more impersonal; Shepherd's artistic and human work; but Taverner's has a really touching accent that is quite irresistible. The masses of this period are much too long for modern liturgical purposes. As they are in distinct sections, however, it is possible to shorten them by mere omission, without alteration.

A version of this kind is in use at Westminster Cathedral. The *Kyrie* is always wanting, however, and this Dr. Terry usually supplies from the first part of the *Agnus Dei*. In the present case this is sometimes done; but occasionally the *Ley Roy* Kyrie is used. The mass is in four parts: the tune is as follows :—



Taverner's treatment is that of variations. The tune appears in all the parts at various times. In the *Kyrie* (1st *Agnus*) the bass has it at the opening; then the treble, variety of effect being given by the fact that here the music is in two parts, the tenor having a figure of triplets of minims (or 6/2 time) which is, later, taken up by the bass in addition. The melody is then given by treble accompanied by alto, to which, after four bars, the lower voices are added; so that there is constant resource and variety of effect. Similar treatment occurs in the *Gloria*, which runs to 205 bars. In the *Sanctus* (II.) there are points of imitation in the lower parts, while the tune soars above them. An interesting point occurs in the first section. The aspiring ground-bass :—

occurs only twice in the Brit. Mus. MS., and the resulting crudity surprised the scholars, till it was found on collation that there was an omission, the

Bodleian MS. having the passage five times, which made the movement a really impressive piece of work. The *Benedictus* opens in two parts, the subject being in the treble, and a counterpoint in the alto ; but soon the other parts enter, the melody being taken up by the tenor. The *Agnus Dei* is a really lovely piece of music, and consists of three sections, the first of which is used for the *Kyrie*, the second and third being retained in their places : and this brings the mass to a wonderfully tender and touching conclusion.

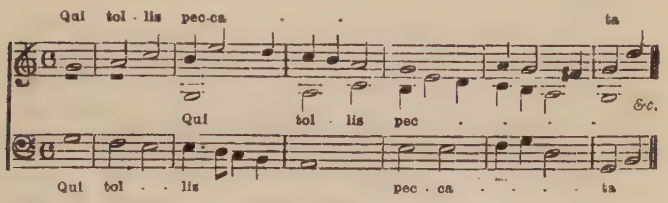
Altogether, the mass is broad, dignified, and full of real feeling and beauty ; and all who are interested in this sort of music should go and hear it at Westminster Cathedral ; they will find it a revelation as to the quality of the music of a period usually regarded as prehistoric and barbarous in such matters. Another version is sometimes given at the Birmingham Oratory, being the arrangement of the organist, Mr. H. B. Collins, Mus.Bac., who is an enthusiastic collator, who has lent me his MSS., and to whom I am indebted for many kindnesses and details as to his experiences in research.

It should be noted that the long passages on a single syllable, sometimes even including rests and repeated notes, are part of the idiom of the time ; and a man of one age must not be judged by the standards of another. It may also be remembered that Bach has done exactly the same thing in the *B minor Mass* (11th, 12th and 13th bars from the end of the first *Kyrie*, and again later).

Burney gives (Ed. 1782, p. 557, *et seq.*) the motet *Dum Transisset* "not only as a specimen of his abilities in counterpoint, but of the custom which generally prevailed during his time of writing upon a *Plain Song*" (*ibid.*, p. 556). The plain-song is in the baritone, and there are four parts added. The piece is

not the most favourable example of Taverner's work; still, it is good sound writing, and shows adequate technique, with points of imitation, &c. A version in four parts is in the British Museum.

Burney gives also the *Qui tollis* from the *O Michael* Mass,—a canon in the octave with a free bass. This is quite good work, with real musical spirit and feeling:—



Burney speaks of it as "the best of all the compositions which I have seen of this author" (*ibid.*, p. 560), which makes one a little distrustful of Burney's judgment,—unless he was unacquainted with the *Westron Wynde*, for instance. He does not think much of Taverner. He was apparently too deeply imbued with the technique and idiom of his own time to be able to feel the tender spirit of Taverner's work, veiled (as it was to him) in an unfamiliar phraseology. Thus, in discussing Taverner, Fayrfax and Tye he speaks* of "having scored an entire Mass by each of them; as they are the most ancient and eminent of these old Masters, in whose Compositions the style is grave and harmony, in general, unexceptionable, *if tried by such rules as were established during their time*" [the caveat, you notice, is merely an intellectual recognition of primitive rules]; "but with respect to invention, air and accent, the first two are totally deficient' (*ibid*, p. 555).

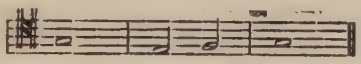
* As quoted on p. 57.

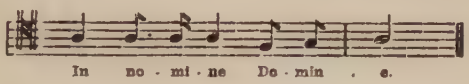
I have, unfortunately, not been able to see in its complete form the *O Michael* Mass (six parts) in which this *Qui tollis* occurs, as Dr. Terry's copy was in the hands of the Clarendon Press,—in itself a good thing. He, however, speaks very highly of it and tells me that it contains "some gorgeous moments." The same remarks apply with regard to the other two six-part masses, *Corona Spinia* and *Gloria tibi trinitas*.

The *Plain-song Mass*, while a work of real charm even now, judged under proper conditions, has not, I think, the touching appeal of the *Westron Wynde*. And this fact tends to confirm the view put forward in Chapter I. as to the influence of Folk-Song on the development of Church Music. For this Mass, founded on a popular song—of a touching nature, certainly—is certainly more vividly alive to us now than Taverner's other work. And another thing to be noted is that though, as we know, rounds and canons were common two hundred years and more earlier, they have not been adopted with any freedom in ecclesiastical work. We do find them certainly, as will have been noticed,— e.g., in the case of the *Qui tollis* just discussed ; but this sort of thing is not yet common.

The *Plain-song Mass* is in four parts, with not infrequent crossings, as was usual at the time. In the eleventh and twelfth bars comes one of those cadences of the type that the public is so familiar with from Tallis's Anglican Responses, and which arise, of course, from the modal idiom. The part-writing is broad and dignified, with occasional points of imitation and contrasts produced by the employment of only three, or two, voices in places. There is an unmistakeably genuine devotional feeling about the work, which is, in fact, characteristic of Taverner.

This accent is really touching at the words *Crucifixus etiam pro nobis*, where the top voice is accompanied by the two lower ones. At *Judicare vivos et mortuis* there is an imitational point four times repeated, and in the tenor a phrase which is the germ of a future motif :—

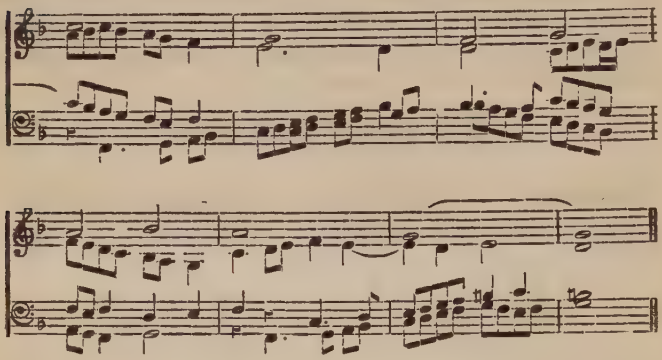


This occurs in the *Benedictus*. where the two middle parts insistently dwell upon the phrase :—

which, as Dr. Terry has pointed out, recalls the *Forge-motif* in *The Ring*. Imitational passages occur also in the *Agnus Dei* with happy effect. There is a real coherence in the musical texture, gained by the interweaving of definite phrases, as well as a genuine musical and devotional feeling, which I personally find most in Taverner of these early writers. I am indebted to Mr. Collins for his kindness in allowing me to see the copy of this work which he made at the Bodleian.

The *Ley Roy Kyrie* (four parts) is also good sound work with real feeling, though not on a level (in my opinion) with the *Westron Wynde*. Still, it is distinctly an impressive piece.

The *Alleluias*, copied by Mr. Collins at the Bodleian, are very attractive in spirit and have considerable freedom of movement in the parts. The first, with the brightness of its upper voice, has an unmistakeable accent of joy ; and towards the end the passages become more rapid, leading to a bright close.

This is still more the case in the second, which ends as follows :—



Mr. Collins has also shown me a *Gaude Plurimum*, which he copied at the British Museum, but afterwards found on collating at Buckingham Palace and Oxford to be only the first section of a longer work of seven numbers. The first section is nominally in three parts but mostly in two, the bass only appearing for less than half. Some of the later numbers are in five parts, though they are reduced at times to two, and three, for episodes. There are points of canon and of imitation ; the parts have vitality ; and, in the right conditions, the work should produce a real effect in performance, though it does not seem to me to have the value of some of Taverner's other pieces. A similar work is *Ave Dei Patris Filia* (five parts). This, too, has six sections, some in two, or three parts ; sometimes so low as to be of doubtful effect and sometimes (as is the case with these writers in places) with such large distances between the voices that a homogeneous body of sound seems difficult of attainment. Besides that, the music does not

seem to me specially interesting. I do not think that Taverner appears at his best in these two pieces.

Altogether, that Taverner is a real and very attractive musical personality can be clearly discerned across the gulf of time and through the medium of a past technique; even as we can feel in touch with Fra Angelico, in spite of his somewhat alien technique. But even that reservation is in some cases unnecessary. One does not need, in listening to the *Westron Wynde*, any more than in looking at the pictures in the cells at St. Marco, to regard them from the antiquarian's point of view as interesting and charming curiosities. They make a direct and vital appeal. And that this should be the case in the young art of music with a work nearly four hundred years old, dating from some fifty years earlier than Palestrina's *Missa Papæ Marcellæ* is indeed a testimony to the real power of the writer. It seems strange that Burney should have failed to feel his charm: his re-discovery is a real addition to our artistic wealth.

CHAPTER VI.

Shepherd, Redford, Marbeck, Johnson.

WE are now approaching the period of crisis: the musicians of whom we are now to speak found themselves involved in the troubles of the year 1537-40, *et seq.* Some of them suffered for their opinions, according as they made their choice for the Roman or for the new Anglican communion. Some bent before all storms, like the Vicar of Bray, and kept their appointments under Edward VI., Mary, who restored the Catholic Church, and Elizabeth, who again reinstated the Anglican.

John Shepherd, whose name is variously spelt—as Shepheard, Sheppard, and Shepperd, in addition to the form now adopted—was born some time during the earlier part of Henry VIII.'s reign. He received his education under Thomas Mulliner, organist of St. Paul's Cathedral, and compiler of *The Mul-*

liner Book (*c.f.* Cap. XVI.). The lad was a chorister here—not, of course, the cathedral as we know it, but the older Gothic church begun in 1087, one of the largest in Europe, 600 feet long, and having a spire of 460 feet in height.* This was destroyed by lightning early in Elizabeth's reign (1561) and not rebuilt. The nave was a place of public resort, and was called Paul's Walk. It was a common thoroughfare where people met for business, where pack-horses and asses, and porters carrying loads, passed and repassed, where servants waited to be hired, where letter-writers and lawyers plied their trades; while in the chapels masses were sung, processions paced the aisles, and the music of the choirs and the organ pealed over all: so closely were religion and the common affairs of life intermingled. Later, in the time of the Commonwealth, the nave was turned into a cavalry barracks.

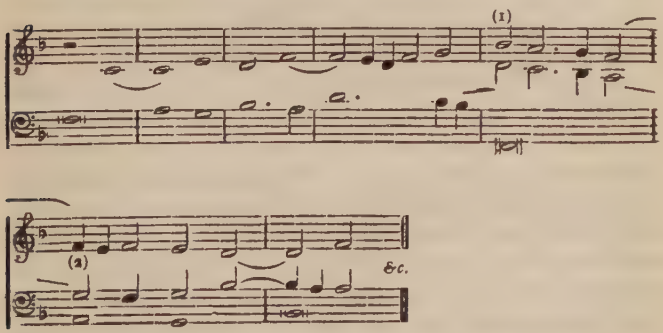
Here, then, the boy Shepherd served his apprenticeship to art. In 1542, two or three years after the destruction of the monasteries, when we may conjecture him to have been about twenty, he was appointed organist and Instructor of the Choristers, at Magdalen College, Oxford. A year later he resigned, but again held office from 1545-47, the year of Henry VIII.'s death. He was a fellow of the college, 1549-51. Early in Mary's reign (April 21st, 1554), he "supplicated" for the degree of Mus. Doc., "having been a student in music for twenty years,"†—which would place his birth about 1520-4. Whether he received the degree is unknown, as also is the date of his death.

Grove's Dictionary mentions two four-part anthems of his, *Submit yourselves* and *I give you a new Commandment*, which were published in Day's *Morn-*

* The present length is 515ft., and the height to the summit of the cross, 365ft.
† C.f. Cap. XVI., "The Mulliner Book."

ing and Evening Prayer, 1560: and we thus see him adapting himself to the new order of things, for this is in Elizabeth's reign, the counter-reformation. On this point, however, note the following. There are a few pieces arranged for organ in *The Mulliner Book*, ascribed to Shepherd. One, however (No. 23, *Quia fecit*), is stated to be by "Sheppard of the Queene's Chappell;" and as there seems to be no record of this Shepherd's having ever held such an office, this must be regarded as uncertain. No. 43, *I give you a new Commandment*, is here ascribed to Tallys, but by Day to Shepherd. As the latter was Mulliner's pupil, it seems unlikely that he would make a mistake of this kind. There was also a Prayer, *O Lord of Hosts*, by him, in Day's *Whole Psalmes in foure parts*, 1563. Shepherd is also now thought by many to be the author of *O Lord the Maker of all things*, which was until recently attributed to Henry VIII. Barnard gives a four-part anthem, *Haste thee*; and Hawkins a fugal *Poynte* of seven bars, as well as a motet, *Steven first after Christ for God's worde his blood spent (History of the Science and Practice of Music, 1776)*. Of this Burney says that judged "by a specimen that has been lately given of his abilities, he would seem the most clumsy contrapuntist of them all,"—giving in a note one of his reasons,—viz., "In the counter-tenor part, bar the sixteenth, there is a curious leap of a sharp seventh, from A down to B♭, and then another up to C, the ninth above." He goes on to say that not only does he "appear to be less dexterous in expressing his ideas, but to have fewer ideas to express; yet in scoring a movement of this author, from a set of MS. books belonging to Christchurch College, Oxford, he appears to me superior to any composer of Henry VIII.'s reign: in this production, with which we shall present the

reader, we have a regular design, and much ingenuity in the texture of the parts; three of which having carried on a Fugue for some time, in the fifth above and eighth below the subject, are joined by two other parts, which form almost a Canon, between Superius and second Base, to the end of the movement." *(History of Music, II, 565.)* The piece in question is *Esurientes*; and Burney's remarks are sound, allowing for the now obsolete use of the term *fugue.* The technique is of the character indicated, and the motet is a fine piece of work. Burney, however, is still uneasy in spite of his praise; and in a note to bar five, complains that "a mere appoggiatura" is written as an essential note—this being the same progression as the six-four in bar eight of Mozart's *Jupiter Symphony.* And to the next bar he adds another note complaining that "the unprepared seventh here"—a passing note—"is unusual and unpleasant."



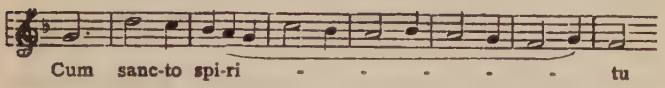
These criticisms will give an idea of the sort of arraignment, doubtless well-intentioned, but not always very enlightened, which these early writers have had to face.

There is music of Shepherd's at the Music School, Oxford, and also at Christchurch; among the latter, five complete sections of the *Magnificat*, and some motets. In a good deal, however, the tenor part is missing. The British Museum has also a fair amount, including two *Te Deums* and *Magnificats*, two Creeds, seven anthems, and four masses,— *The Westron Wynd*, the *ffrench Masse*, *Be not afraide*, and the *Playn Song Mass for a Mene.*

The four-part male choir *Magnificat*, *Primi Toni*, (Add. MSS., 17802-5), is a really fine piece of work. There are continual points of imitation: the parts are vital: and the musical equivalent of the thought is happily found. There is a certain quiet joyousness about most of the sections. At *et sanctum nomen ejus*, and again at *esurientes implevit bonis*, the music is a tissue of imitation, with very striking effect. Shepherd is clearly in the direct line of march towards the modern technique. Of a six-part *Haec Dies* much the same may be said: imitations are again very prominent, and the responsive parts recall the phrase so dear to Cardinal Newman, *Cor ad cor loquitur.*

The *Westron Wynde Mass* has, for its chief subject, as has already been stated, the same folk-song as was employed by Taverner and Tye in their masses of the same name. It is good sound writing having, as may be anticipated from what has already been said, many points of imitation, and being very attractive to all who have got past calling the idiom of these old modal writers crude. The mass is in four parts, and the melody (for which *c.f.* Cap. V., *Taverner*) appears in all, though it is most frequently at the top. There is, as usual, a good deal of crossing of parts, the tenor,—e.g., being not infrequently below the bass. The mass opens with treble and alto, the subject being in the treble; the two

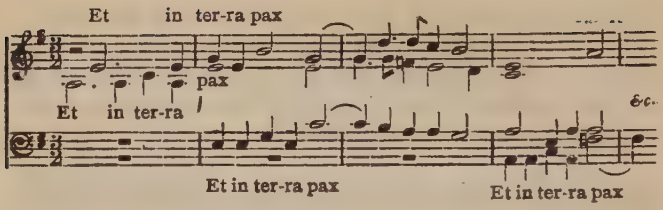
lower parts entering with an imitation a bar later. The word-accentuation looks good even in our barred versions. The *Qui tollis* is in two parts, tenor and bass, the melody in the tenor. At *cum sancto spiritu* the melody runs thus, in triple time :—



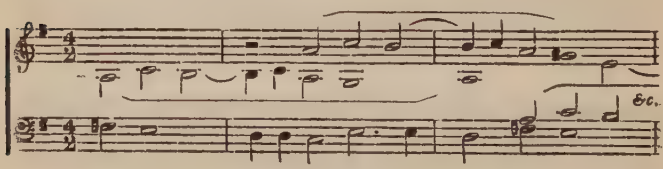
Et Incarnatus is a duet for treble and tenor, the melody in the treble. At *Crucifixus*, the subject is transferred to the tenor, accompanied by alto and bass, and is quite touching ; but at *Et resurrexit* the treble again enters with the melody, with a note of exultation, the imitational style giving way for a moment to the homophonic and a unanimous rhythm for all four voices. Towards the end of the *Sanctus* (which is fine and large in style) the imitational figure

appears persistently in various forms in the three lower voices, under the melody in the treble. At the *Agnus Dei*, the melody is in the tenor, the alto having above it a part that enters with an imitation. There is thus constant variety of effect ; and altogether the work — if having perhaps hardly the poignant appeal of Taverner's—is a really notable one, and of itself sufficient to redeem the period from the charge (common among those who do not know) of dryness, dulness and pedantry.

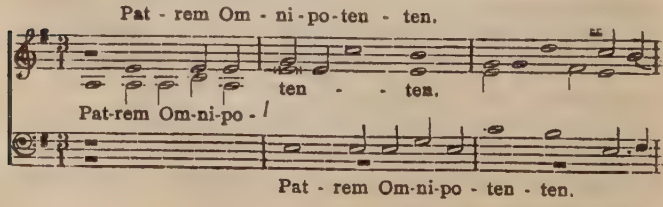
The *ffrench Mass* (four parts) is fine work, good in workmanship and sincere in feeling. The part-writing is always alive, with continual imitations. The opening runs :—

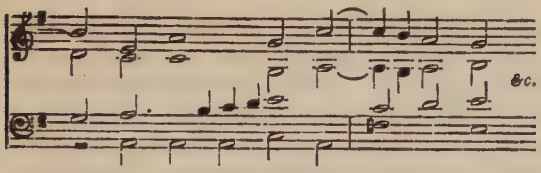


There is, of course, far more crossing of parts than is customary now, the alto, even, being sometimes below the bass ; but this is part of the method of the time, and one who is not willing to look at things from the artist's own point of view is hardly a fair judge of art. Much of the crossing, too, is good in effect to a modern hearer, in actual performance. There is a touching point, with an unprepared augmented fifth, at *suscipe deprecationem*, which shows the modern harmonic feeling on its way :—

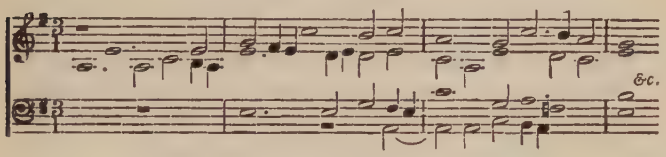


The opening of the *Credo*, too—a modification of the *et in terra pax*—is striking :—





There are contrasts obtained by using two or three parts and by passages rather homophonic than polyphonic. Another modification of the phrase just given is employed for the Agnus Dei, and the work thus gains in unity as a whole :—



Here, it will be noticed, we have one of Siegfried's main themes that comes out so finely in the *Death March*, after *The Sword Nothing*. Altogether, it is a fine piece of work, without any necessity for "making allowances" for its early period.

Mr. Collins (who lent me the last three masses) has shown me also a few short pieces. (1) a *Kyrie* in six parts. This also is imitational and is written on a plainchant; (2) there is an *Alleluia* in four parts, in the same style, and also on a plainchant; and (3-5) three others, also imitational. All of this shows clearly the growth of a logical musical tissue of interwoven real parts as the vehicle of real feeling. Shepherd was evidently an important influence in the growth of musical art.

The anthem *Christ rising again from the dead* (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 30480-4) is, of course, one

of the pieces written for the Anglican Church, and is interesting as showing how the new style arose from the very beginning. It is far more homophonic, allowing the words to be distinctly heard—one of the absolute conditions—though Shepherd cannot entirely divest himself of his imitational method. The piece is for male voices, in four parts, and is good serious work, with real feeling, though the writer hardly seems so much in his element musically as in the works for the older church.

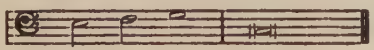
II.

Partly contemporaneous with Shepherd, possibly a little earlier, was John Redford, whose name appears next to that of Taverner in Morley's list of *Authors whose authorities be either cited or used in this booke*,—i.e., in the *Plaine and Easy Introduction to Practicall Music, 1597*. Redford's life probably extended from 1491 to 1547, and he was organist, almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's Cathedral. He was thus in a position of real influence, caring for the growth of the tender shoots, the buds and blossoms on the rose-tree of art,—an influence which seems to have been altogether for good.

Some anthems arranged for organ and some organ pieces by him are preserved in *The Mulliner Book* (*c.f.* Cap. XVI.). There are also a motet, some Fancies and a voluntary by him at Christ Church, Oxford. And Grove's Dictionary speaks of an anthem, *Rejoice in the Lorde alway*, as "remarkable for its melody and expression." It is printed in the appendix to Hawkins's History, and in Vol. I. of the Motet Society's publications. It is a really fine piece of work: especially is this apparent when the time of

its birth (1543) is remembered. The discords are prepared, or passing notes, under which last heading comes an instance of a tentative "dominant seventh." It is imitational throughout, except for a contrasting harmonic passage in the middle.

Mr. Collins has lent me a motet *Christus resurgans*, which he copied at the British Museum. It is in four parts, for male voices, and is good sound writing, though hardly perhaps on a level with the work of Shepherd. It is written on a plainsong, and opens with a rising unison passage, imitated by the other voices one after another, the conception being apparently intended as symbolical of the rising of Christ. Imitations are frequent throughout. For instance, at the words *vivit Deo*, all the three parts, other than the plainchant, reiterate the phrase



imitationally thirteen times, the music consisting entirely of this motif and the plainsong. Crossing of parts is of course—as is usual in music of the period—incessant. Taken in conjunction with the other work of this group of writers, the piece shows that a good general level of technique was now attained. Redford was a sound and accomplished musician, having something to say and saying it well, and did vital work for the growth and history of his art.

III.

Especial interest attaches to John Marbeck—or Merbecke—inasmuch as he was one of the pioneers of the music of the Anglican church. His life and work are thus of considerable importance. He was born in 1523, in the reign of Henry VIII. He became a lay clerk (i.e., one, not in holy orders, performing as a deputy the musical duties of a prebend or canon of a cathedral) of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where later in 1541 he became organist. As the dissolution of the monasteries took place in 1537-40, it will be seen that his lot was cast in troublous times. His own leanings were towards the Reformation from the first. But this was not in his favour; for although the king made a new orthodoxy for himself he was an illustration of the satirical gibe: "Orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is other people's doxy." He would not tolerate anyone else's doxy nor allow any freedom of thought: all must subscribe to his own new proprietary brand of religion. In March, 1542-3, accordingly, Marbeck, with three others, was arrested as a heretic, charged with favouring the Reformation, and with having copied an epistle of Calvin's against the Mass. Among his papers were found some notes on the Bible and an English Concordance, all in his own handwriting. After considerable delay in prison, the four "heretics" were tried, July 26th, 1544, and condemned to be burnt. The three others suffered accordingly; but Marbeck, owing to the interposition of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and of Sir Humphrey Foster, one of the Commissioners, was "pardoned."* Apparently his musical powers

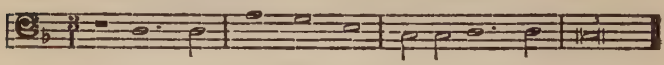
* Hawkins, in his "History of Music," gives an extract from Foxe's "Book of Martyrs" on this subject.

were too valuable to be sacrificed, for he seems to have resumed his duties at St. George's Chapel. Henry VIII.'s death, however, soon followed (1547), and this event restored to him a measure of liberty. In 1549, according to Burney, quoting Anthony Wood, he received the degree of Mus.Bac. at Oxford. During the next year, 1550, he published his *Concordance*, and also the work which has become a sort of landmark,—*The Boke of Common Praier notted.* This is an adaptation of the plainchant of the Roman Catholic Church to the first Liturgy issued in Edward VI.'s reign (1547-53). In the same year (1550), he became Mus. Doc., Oxon. For some reason he was not molested during the persecutions of Mary's reign (1553-58), and was still organist of St. George's Chapel in 1565, in Elizabeth's time (1558-1603). He published *The Lives of the Holy Saincts* in 1574; and other works of a religious character followed. The last, *A Dialogue between Youth and Olde Age*, appeared in 1584; and in the following year, 1585, he died at Windsor.

Of *The Boke of Common Praier notted, 1550*, Burney gives a portion of the Mattins,—the Te Deum, and part of the Benedictus Dominus (pp. 578-82), as a specimen of the style. It is, of course, unbarred, and is written on a four-line stave, in notes of four values, equivalent to a breve, a semi-breve, a minim, and a longa with pause. There is no harmony. The Lord's Prayer is in monotone, and also the responses. In the Te Deum, the phrases resemble those used for intoning in the present church service. The work constitutes an interesting connecting link between the music of the old and the new ritual.

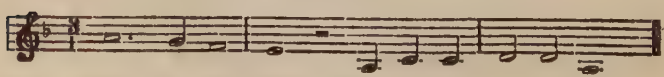
Among the complete works of Marbeck now extant are the motet, *Domine Jesu Christe*, and the mass *Per arma justitiæ*, preserved at Oxford, both of

which have been given with success at Westminster Cathedral by Dr. Terry, to whose kindness I am indebted for a sight of them. They breathe a serious, devotional spirit, free from any tinge of meretricious allurement. The first is in five parts and opens quietly with a passage for first bass and treble, followed by one for second bass and alto; other parts are then added till all five are employed. The part-writing is good, and there is less crossing than is the case with some other writers of the period, foreshadowing, in this matter also, the more modern view. The method is that adopted in such instrumental works as Gibbons's *Parthenia* pieces, and Avison's *Concertos*,—i.e., instead of there being one dominating subject worked throughout, as came to be the case later, a number of small motifs appear, are worked for a time, and then give place to others. In bar 18, the first bass has :—



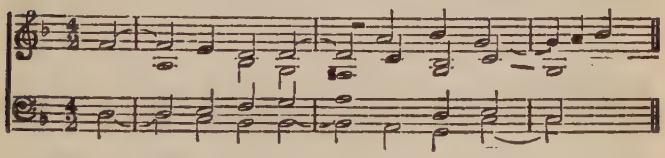
A tonal fugue-answer to this is then taken up in succession by the other parts. The next figure is :—

which is similarly treated, including the use of the fugal answer. Then comes :—



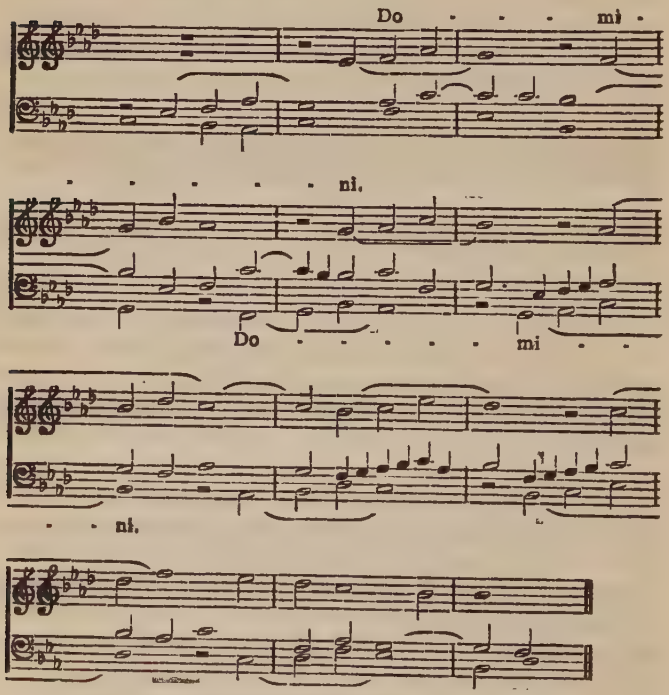
and so on. A considerable section for the three lower voices follows, the same method being employed, and

producing a certain austere beauty: triplets occur at the cadences. Another five-part section, opening harmonically, but soon reverting to the style described, succeeds. Then comes a considerable piece for second bass and treble, followed by one for the three middle voices, which leads finally into the five-part closing portion. It will thus be seen that the piece is laid out for considerable variety of effect. A bold harmonic point towards the close may be noted :—



The mass (five parts) also is serious and elevated in style, with a quiet meditative feeling. There is less imitation than in the motet, and less also than in some of the work of other writers of whom we have spoken,— probably owing to the desire for greater simplicity in the Reformed Church, for which it seems likely that the mass was written; and to the wish that the words should be distinctly heard, at all events in the Liturgy, though in the motet (answering to our anthem) this would not be so imperative. Imitational points, however, do occur; and, as in the motet, variety of effect is provided by the way in which the music is laid out, sections for the three lower parts, or other combinations, alternating with those in full five-part writing. The mass is low in pitch, and has had to be transposed up a third for use at Westminster Cathedral. Instances of the imitation mentioned occur at the end of the Gloria, where the change to triple time takes place, at the words *cum sancto spiritu*, between bass and treble; in the entries of the

three lower parts at the opening of the Credo; near the opening of the Sanctus (three entries); at *pleni sunt cœli* (three entries); and in numerous instances of a fleeting nature. A more persistent case occurs in the Benedictus:—



The only other work of Marbeck's which we have complete is *A Virgine and Mother*, in three parts. It is a motet for Christmas Day, and the writing—though there are a few points of imitation—is simple, as befits the occasion: the general feeling, too, is of the same character. The piece has been included in

a collection of Carols, made by Edmondstoune Duncan (Walter Scott). He has transposed it down a fourth, and added a piano part which, however, can of course be easily omitted, thus leaving Marbeck's work in its unadulterated simplicity. It is given in its original form in the *History of Music* by Hawkins (1719-89, friend and executor of The Great Cham), where it is to be found in Book X., Cap. XCIV. It is there in 4/1 time,—treble, alto and tenor clefs. In Mr. Duncan's version the notes are half value, and the time 2/2, two bars being equivalent to one of the original. It is a tender little piece of very real charm, and ought not to be allowed to drop out of memory.

If Marbeck had not, perhaps, so much "genius" as some other writers, he was at any rate a thorough musician with a broad and serious outlook on life and art, and a wholesome influence on the growth of this last, which was one of the two main objects of his devotion.

It may be as well to add, here, a few details as to further issues of the Psalms. Following (1) Marbeck's *Boke of Common Praier notted* (1550), there appeared in 1562 (2) the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, a metrical version by Sternhold and Hopkins. In 1563 John Day published (3) *The Whole Psalmes in foure partes* "whiche may be song to al instrumentes, set forth for the encrease of vertue, and abolishyng of other vayne and triflyng ballads." The composers were Richard Brimle, Wm. Parsons, Thos. Causton, Nicholas Southerton, John Hake, Richard Edwards, and Thos. Tallys. This was reprinted in 1565. (4) In 1579 Day issued *The Psalms of David in English Meter* "with notes of foure partes set unto them by Giulielmo Damon, for John Bull," with similar purpose. (5) In 1585 John Cosyn published a collection in five and six parts, containing sixty old church tunes har-

monised in plain counterpoint. (6) In 1591 Damon's collection was reissued, printed by Este as assignee of Byrd. The tune in these collections is in the tenor. (7) In 1592 Este's collection appeared, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes:* "with their wonted Tunes, as they are Song in Churches, composed into foure parts. All which are so placed that foure may sing ech one a several part in this booke," &c., 1592. *Thos. Est, assigné of Wm. Byrd.* A second edition appeared in 1594, and a third in 1604. In this, for the first time, the tunes have names, as *The Glassenburie Tune;* and thus arose the practice of calling hymn-tunes by place-names. The composers in this collection were Richd. Allison, E. Blancks, Michael Cavendish, Wm. Cobbold, John Douland, John Farmer, Giles Farnaby, Edmund Hooper, Ed. Johnson and Geo. Kirbye,—ten in all. These details, with a few more, are given in Rimbault's Preface to the reprint issued by the Musical Antiquarian Society, in 1844. The style is much the same as that of later books of hymn-tunes, except that the tune is in the tenor; and the tonality is of course rather different, being modal and not based on the key-system.

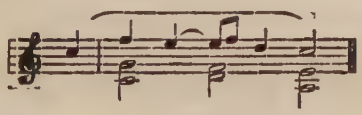
IV.

To about the same period belongs Robert Johnson, a Scottish priest, born at Dunse, who, getting into trouble on account of his heretical opinions, fled to England. Tradition has it that he became Chaplain to Anne Boleyn; but for this, as Arkwright says in his article in Grove's Dictionary, there seems to be no tangible evidence.* It appears likely that he

* C.f., however, Cap. XVI., "The Mulliner Book," where a Johnson without Christian name, author of No. 78, is stated to be Chaplain to Anne Boleyn. This may be Robert Johnson.

settled at Windsor, since in the Buckingham Palace Library there is a MS. by Baldwin, a Windsor man, in which a "Robert Johnson, Priest, *of Windsor*," is mentioned.

Burney gives the motet *Sabbatum Maria*, which is also at Christ Church, Oxford. This is in five parts, and is written upon a plain-chant. The writer has evidently been deeply touched by the tender sadness of the last offices to Jesus's body, as the women went with their spices to the tomb. *Aromata!* cries one voice after another; then, after a pause, with the same responsive iteration, *ut venientes unguerent Jesum;* and finally, after another pause, *Alleluia!* It is a tender little piece of 35 bars. The devotion is unmistakable, and the imitational part-writing shows that this kind of technique was now become general. Burney is exercised in his mind at seeing in bars 27 and 30 an appoggiatura which seems to him a licence:

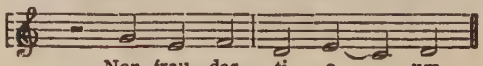


et simile. In fact, these older writers not infrequently did things which, later, were forbidden by the theorists, and therefore seemed "crude," though with us, as freedom increases, they pass as quite natural.

The motet *Ave Dei Patris filia* (Bodleian; and Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 5059), which has been lent to me by Mr. Collins, is also good sound work, but has not, I think, the touching accent of the *Sabbatum.* The Brit. Mus. copy, Dr. Terry informs me, is in error, being in common time. "The original is in triple." This, too, is in five parts. It is laid out with considerable variety of effect. The opening portion

is given to the three upper voices; the two lower then enter, and to them is presently added the tenor, in imitational phrases. Similar contrasts are maintained, and the workmanship is good. It is in several sections, the last of which is *Ave Virgo fœta*, a fine piece of work which deserves wider recognition. The whole has been successfully given at Westminster Cathedral, and the last section at the Birmingham Oratory.

There are a few pieces by Johnson in the *Mulliner Book* (*c.f.*, Cap XVI.); and Dr. Terry has kindly lent me three motets which have been performed at Westminster: (1) *Domine in virtute tua;* (2) *Quum transisset Sabatum;* and (3) *Gaude Maria Virgo.* The first of these (five parts) has a certain blitheness of spirit, and confirms one's impression of Johnson as a man of vivid life. The technique is good; imitations are continual; and there is a jubilant, bell-like effect at the words *non fraudasti eum*, all the parts taking up, one after another, the phrase:—

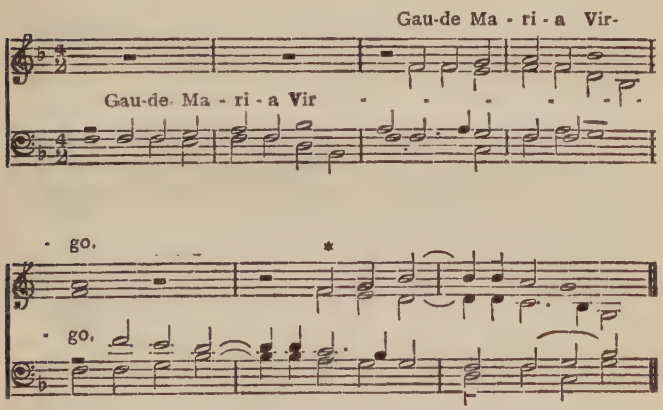


At bar 117, a new section begins, the motif

being sung out joyfully by all the parts in succession, ten times in all. The piece is perhaps rather long (248 bars) for this method of successive motifs, without dominating central unity on the purely musical side, resembling, in architecture, the Milan Cathedral; but it is good in quality throughout.

No. 2 is another setting of the words of the piece given by Burney *(Sabbatum Maria)* mentioned above. This also is written upon a plain-chant, but is in four parts. Johnson's usual system of successive motifs for imitational treatment is followed; but the piece does not seem to me the most interesting specimen of his work.

No. 3, *Gaude Maria Virgo*, is in four parts for male choir. It breathes a quiet adoration akin to that which has inspired so many pictures of Gabriel's visit to Mary,—to which it refers. The method is the same, one little phrase after another being taken up imitationally and then giving place to a fresh one. The opening is as follows :—



It will be noticed that at (*) the imitating parts are reversed, tenor I. following tenor II., and alto following bass. Similar freedom of technique is maintained. There is a good deal of crossing of parts, as is not unnatural when their range is so

restricted as in male choir.

Johnson's writing, on the whole, is good sound work, and shows, I think, a nature impregnated with Matthew Arnold's desired "sweet reasonableness," added to real devotion.

CHAPTER VII.

Farrant, Tye, Tallys.

THE following chapters on the Church writers, to which a few additions have been made, appeared in *Musical Opinion* (with the exception of that on White and Mundy) on the occasion of the issue of anthems by the composers concerned, by Curwen & Sons, under the editorship of Granville Bantock. The work of these men being more easily accessible, it will be unnecessary to give so many quotations as in the case of those who still dwell in the shadowy limbo of the MS. world.

I.

The date of Richard Farrant's birth is not known. He was a gentleman of the Chapel Royal during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth; and he resigned his post in April, 1564, on the occasion of his accepting that of Master of the Children of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Here he is said to have held also the offices of lay vicar and organist, the last

conjointly with Marbeck. His allowance for the board and education of the "children" was £81 6s. 8d.; and he lived in a house within the castle precincts known as the Old Commons. From Cumberland's *Account of the Revels at Court*, we learn that at Christmas, 1568, the children of the Chapel (Windsor) presented a play before Queen Elizabeth, under the direction of Farrant, who received £6 13s. 3d. for expenses. In 1569 he returned to the Chapel Royal, in the place (says *The Old Cheque Book*) of Thos. Causton, apparently keeping on also his appointment at Windsor. He died, according to the same authority, on November 30th, either 1580 or 1581, for both dates are given, one being evidently a slip of the pen. Boyce gives 1585; but there seems little doubt that this is a mistake.

We have little of Farrant's work still remaining to us; but that little is good. All the pieces are preserved by Boyce (with regard to whom see Chapter II.). There is a full service in G minor (the original key was A minor), which is serious and devotional in feeling. It is mostly homophonic, note against note; but from time to time there are points of imitation, so arranged however that there is no confusion of words, — this being a matter on which great stress was laid, as it was considered essential that the congregation who could not read should be able to follow everything without difficulty. That, in fact, was the reason—as everyone knows—for the abandonment of Latin in favour of English in the Liturgy. There are verse passages; and the music follows the sentiment of the words more closely than is sometimes the case even with men of greater reputation. The part-writing is good. Dr. Walker quotes an instance of the false relation so common at the time and arising from the excellent habit of thinking horizontally.

In this case, which occurs in the Benedictus at "that we being delivered," E♮ and E♭ are sung simultaneously with a rather harsh result. Gibbons, Byrd and Purcell, however, all have passages more flagrant than this. It is part of the idiom of the time, and one who would understand these writers must learn to look through their eyes and hear through their ears.

The well known anthem, *Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake*, was for long attributed to Farrant; but all authorities now agree that it is not by him. John Hilton (organist of St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1628-57) has been named as the author, amongst others by Dr. Blow. Tallys, too, was given as the composer in Clifford's *Divine Services and Anthems* (1664). Walker is inclined to assign it to Tye; and Bumpus (*English Cathedral Music*) also thinks that "if the anthem were a product of the Tudor age, one would be inclined to attribute it to Tye." There we must leave it. The matter cannot now be settled, except that one may remark that the piece shows a certain personal tenderness not common with Tye.

The anthem *Hide not Thy Face* is full of a touching simplicity. It is very short, consisting only of twenty-five bars (of which seven are repetition), and its structure is of the plainest, there being no imitation of any kind. And yet it makes an instantaneous appeal; and the final cadence (quoted by Dr. Walker), which occurs twice, is truly beautiful.

The other anthem, *Call to Remembrance*, is the one chosen by Professor Bantock for re-issue in the series of which I have spoken, and on the whole the decision was a wise one. There is here more variety, there being some imitations and a good deal of independent part-writing. This runs to thirty-one bars, of which four are repetition; and the final two-bar cadence,

"for Thy goodness" is very touching. Many of the anthems of this period have been found practically useless owing to the pitch being too low for present requirements. In the series referred to, this is remedied by transposition, this anthem being accordingly put up a minor third—into F minor, instead of D minor—and the notation also is modernised.

Farrant has for long stood as one of our representative church writers; and the sterling qualities of his workmanship, and his tender and devotional spirit, fully entitle him to the place he has earned in the affections of lovers of English church music.

II.

We come now to Christopher Tye. He was altogether larger in scale than Farrant and is an important figure in the musical history of his time. He was born at Westminster, but the date is not known: probably it was about 1500-10. He became a chorister and a lay clerk of King's College, Cambridge, and took his Mus.Bac. in that university in 1536-7: a thing that he is hardly likely to have done earlier than the age of 26-36. In 1537, he came to the Chapel Royal, and from 1541-62 (Arkwright says 1561,—Art. *Whyte*, Grove) he was organist at Ely Cathedral. In 1545 he proceeded Mus.D. at Cambridge, and in 1548 received the same degree at Oxford. It is thought that on the accession of Queen Mary, 1553, with the consequent reversion to Roman Catholicism, Tye resigned his post at the Chapel Royal. Certainly in the early years of Elizabeth's reign he took holy orders in the Reformed Church and became rector of Little Wilbraham, of Newton, and of Doddington-cum-March,— all three in the

diocese of Ely. The first two he resigned later; the last he kept. This is stated to have been the richest living in England; and Bumpus says: "In the Liber Ecclesiasticus, an authentic statement of the revenues of the Established Church, published in 1835, the net value of the living of Doddington is given at £7306."

Tye died about the end of 1572; for in March, 1573, his successor as rector of "Donyington-cum-Merche" was appointed, the living having fallen vacant "per mortem naturalem venerabilis viri Christoferi Tye," &c. He was highly thought of in his lifetime and at Court. He was Edward VI.'s teacher before his accession; and in a play of Rowley's (published in 1613), there occurs a dialogue between Edward and Tye, in which the King says:—

> Doctor, I thank you and commend your cunning.
> I oft have heard my father merrily speak
> In your high praise; and thus his Highness saith:
> "England one God, one Truth, one Doctor hath
> In musicke's art, and that is Doctor Tye,
> Admired for skill in musicke's harmony."

He seems to have known his own value and to have had a touch of Michelangelo's ruggedness in dealing with Papal or royal patrons. On one occasion, it is said, Queen Elizabeth sent him word, when he was playing at the Chapel Royal, that he was out of tune; whereupon he sent back word by the verger that it was her Majesty's ears that were out of tune.

The work by which Tye was for many years best known was his *Acts of the Apostles*, translated into English verse and set to music. It was published in 1553 and was dedicated to Edward VI. He never carried the work beyond the fourteenth chapter, how-

ever, as it proved less successful than he expected. The music was fine and much of it has since been adapted to other words, as will be mentioned in detail later; for Tye was not a genius in poetry as the following specimen will show:—

It chauncéd in Iconium
As they oft tymes did use;
Together they into dyd cum
The sinagoge of Jues.

Most of the pieces were in four parts,—S.A.T.B. No. 3 was for three trebles and a tenor; Nos. 4 and 12 for two trebles, mezzo and tenor; No. 9 was a canon, two in one; and No. 14 a canon, four in two. These references are to Oliphant's edition, further referred to below.

Tye's largest work is his *Euge Bone Mass* (six parts), recently published by Novello under Dr. Terry's editorship (1912). It was first printed in score by Arkwright in 1893, but is not suited for liturgical purposes, being incomplete, and some of the voice parts being unsuitable. Dr. Terry has fitted the unset words to music from other parts of the work,—the Kyrie in particular being adapted from the Agnus Dei; and he has given the unmanageable voice-parts to other voices, but without altering any of Tye's music. The work is broad and solid in style, perhaps (as Dr. Walker says) not altogether free from dryness, but still a great piece of work and full of fine technique in the matter of part-writing. With regard to this charge of dryness, however, there is this to be said. Walker remarks:—

"Tye seems, on the whole, to have been (like, as we shall see, several other English composers of later

date) artistically more inspired by words that gave some opportunity of emotional feeling than by the traditional and impersonal words of the Mass."

—pp. 39-40.

This reveals Walker's outlook. He desires personal emotion; but it was just this that was barred by the Roman Catholic authorities. Palestrina is also devoid of that sort of emotion; and in fact it is the lofty and almost impersonal gravity of the music set to these old masses that is so impressive in the Roman Catholic liturgy, though some natures are kindled by the Mass to an emotion more intense than that aroused by anything else. Tye certainly shows that the elevated feeling just mentioned is not alien to his nature. How far specifically *personal* emotion is desirable in Church music must always be a question. There is always a danger of its degenerating into the sentimentalism of a Dykes. Emotion of the most elevated and serious type is certainly here, just as it is in Palestrina; and many of the best judges agree that this is the style most desirable for the purpose.

Boyce has preserved the anthem *I will exalt Thee* (with its second part, *Sing unto the Lord*) both in C minor. It is this that Professor Bantock chose for the series of which I have spoken. It is transposed up a tone (D minor), and the notation is modernised; as, in fact, is the case throughout the edition. It is a fine work,—broad and serious, contrapuntal in style, and full of imitation. The falling passage at *Descend into the pit* is pictorial and closes with a *pp*, the soprano having the middle C♯. Thus closes the first part. The opening of the second part, *Sing unto the Lord*, with its imitations on a rising scale passage, is a great contrast and is full of jubilation. Altogether, it is a fine piece of work, and worthy of the place tha

it holds in the Church repertory. It is possibly an adaptation from a Latin motet.

At other times Tye is less contrapuntal, and his style is exactly that of our hymn tunes, these being in fact simply a survival from this period. *Father of all* is a case in point; it is almost entirely minims and contains two of the "false relations" so common at the time. *Lift up the everlasting gates*, too, is much the same in style. *O God of Bethel* has a little more contrapuntal work, with imitations; and the same may be said of *Laudate Nomen Domini* (the English version being *Sing to the Lord*). All these last four occur in *The Acts of the Apostles* and have been adapted to fresh words for modern use by Oliphant. There is also a version of the last, *O come, ye servants of the Lord.*

While at Ely, Tye wrote a *Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis* in G minor, a score of which is in the British Museum and is dated 1545,—in Henry VIII.'s reign, and four years before the publication of Edward VI.'s first Prayer Book. Commenting upon this, Bumpus remarks :—

"If the date is to be trusted, it is evident that portions of the service were then sung in the vernacular." —*History of English Cathedral Music* (p. 29).

It seems to have escaped his notice that (according to Hume, at least) in 1545 Henry VIII. promulgated a collection of English prayers for morning and evening service in place of the Breviary. These compositions would seem to have been one of the consequences of this action on the King's part. They are altogether larger in style than the pieces last discussed; they are contrapuntal; full of imitational

points and antiphonal effects, and are fine specimens of Tye's work.

As already stated in the section on Farrant, the anthem, *Lord, for Thy tender mercies' sake*, usually attributed to Farrant, is by many thought to be in reality Tye's; and, if so, it shows a certain tenderness in his nature which is not common elsewhere in his works. There are also some works written for the Roman Catholic service, among them a fine *Miserere mei, Deus*, the opening of which is quoted by Walker, with its brightening at the words "Quoniam in te confidit anima mea" following upon the long-drawn wail of the opening. Another is *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*, which is rhythmical and pictorial, and in which (at bars 27-28) the harmonic conditions are somewhat strange if Walker's reading of the *musica ficta* be correct.

Tye's *Westron Wynde Mass*, founded on a song of the period, has a special interest, inasmuch as Taverner and Shepherd also wrote masses on the same subject. The melody is given in Cap. V., Taverner. Tye's Mass is in four parts and is broad, dignified, masculine and fine in workmanship, with good variety of handling and points of imitation. The tune is a little less prominent than in Shepherd's and Taverner's versions, owing to its being less constantly employed, and more in the middle parts; and also to its being disguised with tied notes, &c. This setting has not, to my mind, the charm of Taverner's, and almost makes me retract what I have just said about Walker's verdict. But Taverner, though one feels the personal touch in his work, has been able at the same time to keep up the broad humanity desirable in music for the Church. There is no hint of sentimentalism. And in so far I

should place his *Westron Wynde* above Tye's. It makes, I think, a more direct appeal.

Altogether, Tye is an interesting study, and certainly cannot be omitted from any representative list of English Church composers. It is to be hoped that the revival of Elizabethan music now proceeding in certain quarters may lead to more frequent opportunities of hearing some of his larger works, such as the *Euge Bone Mass.*

III.

The next figure in the series to which reference has been made is that of Thomas Tallys, as he signs himself in his only remaining autograph (or Tallis, as the name is very commonly spelt). He is one of the really great men of his period, and has been styled "The Father of English Choral Music." He was born about 1510-15 and, it is said, received his musical education as a chorister at St. Paul's Cathedral, going thence to the Chapel Royal. This tradition, however is not confirmed by documentary evidence.

In common with large numbers of others, he suffered by the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. He had been for some years organist of Waltham Abbey (endowed by Harold); and at its break up in 1540 of course lost his position and received "twenty shillings for wages and twenty shillings for reward," the latter evidently as a *solatium:* not a very munificent sum, apparently, though it must be remembered that the pound then would be worth many times as much as it is now. Soon after this he became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, where he took his turn as organist. This post he

retained for the rest of Henry VIII.'s reign, throughout those of Edward VI. and Mary and for nearly thirty years of Elizabeth's, until his death in 1585. The fact is somewhat singular when the changes in the state religion are considered; and would seem to suggest either that Tallys was a sort of Vicar of Bray, or that he took a view of religion somewhat similar to that of Marcus Aurelius, considering it as part of the duty and loyalty of a citizen to conform to the state worship. It is conjectured that his personal bent was towards the older faith, as he appears to preserve a preference for Latin words till within a few years of his death.

He received his great successor, Byrd, as a pupil, probably about 1557-8, since Byrd was born about 1542-3, and would probably begin his serious studies about the age of fourteen or fifteen. In January, 1575-6, these two received, in partnership, letters patent from Queen Elizabeth granting them the monopoly for twenty-one years of printing music and ruled music paper, this being one instance of a system of monopolies by which the government of the day so greatly injured trade and caused so much discontent, and which they were at last forced to discontinue. Tallys and Byrd at once issued a work, *Cantiones Sacræ*, containing thirty-four motets, sixteen being by Tallys and eighteen by Byrd. The book is a beautiful specimen of printing and contains, besides three laudatory poems, a final one in Latin by the two authors themselves, which has been thus translated :—

"THE FRAMERS OF THE MUSICKE TO THE READER."

"As one that scarce recouer'd from her Throes,
With trustie *Nurse* her feeble babe bestowes;

These firstlings, *Reader*, in thy Hands we place,
Whose *Milk* must be the Fauour of thy Face;
By that sustayn'd, large Increase shal they shew,
Of that depriued, ungarner'd must they goe."

Tallys probably died early in November, 1585, since on November 23rd, Everseed was sworn as his successor in the Chapel Royal. At the time of his death he was waiting on the Queen in her private chapel at Greenwich, and was buried in the parish church there. A brass plate let into a stone before the altar rails bore an epitaph of four quatrains. The church was demolished in 1721, and the plate disappeared: the verses, however, have been preserved. A memorial was placed in the present church (St. Alphege) about 1876, recording the fact of his burial there. Contemporary with him were Vincenzo Gallilei, the astronomer's father (1533-1600), and Orlando Lassus (1532-94).

The ordinary public hardly realises, when hearing and making those responses which have become almost an integral part of the English Church Service, that they are by Tallys. They form part of the *Preces and Service in the Dorian Mode*, which is thought by many to have been written shortly after the issue of King Edward VI.'s Prayer Book in 1552. Bumpus, however, considers that it was probably not written until after the publication of Day's books (to be mentioned in a moment), as otherwise it would have been included therein. This, however, does not follow with any certainty. One old copy, made by the Rev. Jas. Clifford, gives the date as 1570, but without specified authority. The point cannot now be decided. It is uncertain, too, whether the service was originally written in four or five parts. It is so familiar as to need no detailed discussion.

In 1560-3 Tallys wrote eight tunes and four or five anthems for Day's *Morning and Evening Prayer and Communion* and his *Whole Psalter* (called also *Archbishop Parker's Psalter*). One of these was that canon—two in one—which has since become so popular as set to Ken's evening hymn, *Glory to Thee, my God, this night.* The tunes were in the tenor part, and one in each of the eight modes. About this canon there is a curious fact not usually recognised. There is not only the canon in the octave as generally sung, beginning on the fifth note, but another can be made, beginning also on the fifth note, by reading the tune upside down and thus, of course, reading from the end backwards. There is one slip only, where the two parts have octaves. Among the same set of tunes appears also *Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God,* which is now known as *O Holy Spirit, Lord of Grace* (No. 208, *Hymns Ancient and Modern*).

Barnard preserved eleven pieces by Tallys in his book of *Selected Church Music*, which was published in separate parts in 1641. Of these, Boyce printed two: the service mentioned above and the anthem *I call and cry.* This was the piece chosen by Professor Bantock for reissue in the series already mentioned. It is in five parts, and was adapted by Barnard to these words from the Latin, *O Sacrum Convivium*, in the *Cantiones Sacræ*, which appeared (as already stated) in 1575-6. The original key was G minor. It opens with an imitational passage of six bars; a second follows of the same length; a third, of five bars; and a fourth and fifth of seven bars each. At the entry of the sixth subject (bar 32) there begins a passage of fourteen bars, which is substantially repeated and brings us to two bars of plagal cadence. The feeling throughout is contemplative, and the music has at times—especially in the section just

mentioned—a beautiful flow and charm. Those who are unaccustomed to the music of the period should note that the simultaneous false relation of G and G♯ in bars 34 and 48, and the less marked false relation in bars 45 and 59, are all intended. The occurrence of the first on the word "I have many ways offended" is not meant as a pictorial illustration. They should be sung with great tenderness and almost *sotto voce*. They thus give a peculiar feeling of mystical grief and prayer that is very touching.

The works hitherto referred to (except the service) were printed in Tallys's lifetime. It is impossible even to mention all his works, as a large number remain in manuscript and much is even yet unpublished. There is a fine *Mass in F* which has been edited by Dr. R. R. Terry, of Westminster Cathedral, and published by Messrs. Breitkopf & Haertel. But the most important work that remains for us to discuss is the celebrated motet *Spem in alium non habui*, for eight five-part choirs (or forty parts in all). It is a marvellous piece of work. The parts are not make-believe, but are contrapuntal and individual and there is considerable contrast of effect by means of antiphonal treatment. A first subject, imitated in the fifth, is given out by choir I.; choir II. then takes it up, and is followed by III. and IV.; choir V. now enters with a new subject and is similarly followed by VI., VII. and VIII.; after which comes a *tutti* passage for the whole forty parts. A third and a fourth subject follow in the same manner, and are again capped by a forty-part climax. A series of antiphonal passages follows, with quicker notes and based upon subjects five and six. This leads to a peroration of thirty-four bars in forty parts, which brings the motet to an impressive conclusion. The following performances are recorded: January, 1835, and January, 1836, at the Freemasons'

Hall, London, under W. Hawes; January, 1879, at St. James's Hall under Henry Leslie; January, 1889, at Manchester under Dr. Henry Watson; May, 1890, at the Holborn Restaurant under Sir Frederick Bridge; January, 1898, by the Incorporated Society of Musicians, London. As an additional instance of Tallys's technical skill, we may mention the seven-part canon *Miserere Nostri*, which was reprinted by Hawkins from the *Cantiones Sacræ*.

Another fine work is the *Lamentation*, in five parts, of which Dr. Walker gives the first twenty-two bars in his *History* and which is wonderfully touching. A peculiar poignancy is gained by the G above a G♯ (in A minor), much as is the case in the *Lacrymosa* of Mozart's *Requiem* and, of course, in later works.

Tallys has long been recognised as one of the great figures of musical history. Walker classes him with Palestrina, and wonders whether Palestrina himself ever surpassed the anthem *I call and cry*. His name is sometimes greeted with a satirical smile, as that of a mere pedant, largely owing to the forty-part motet, which (not being really known) suggests the mere ingenuity of a Chinese puzzle. He is in reality far removed from pedantry, and was full of warm and true feeling, as an acquaintance with his work will convince any open-minded student. He is a man of whom any school might be proud. The apparent discrepancy of judgment which has styled him the "Father of English Cathedral Music" and Orlando Gibbons the "Father of Pure Anglican Music" arises from a difference in the angle of critical vision. Gibbons is so-called because, as Walker says:

"He owes nothing directly to Roman influences... Tallis and others had, indeed, sometimes sacrificed

artistic convictions in order to enable the words to be clearly heard by every listener; but then they fell back on the old traditional Latin, and repaid themselves by purely contrapuntal works. Gibbons was the first of the really great men to adopt, in musical matters, the sort of *via media* which the Anglican Church has always so much favoured."

This makes it clear that the distinction is a reasonable one. Certainly the name of Gibbons, connoting as it does his madrigals and instrumental work, carries with it a more purely English sound than does that of Tallys, which suggests the older idiom of the Roman Church and the Continental style that was prevalent wherever that church held its influence over the souls of men. A more or less complete list of his works is easily accessible in Grove. There are several pieces arranged for organ and ascribed to Tallys, in *The Mulliner Book* (q. v. Cap. XVI.).

CHAPTER VIII.

Robert Whyte, William Mundy, Robert Parsons.

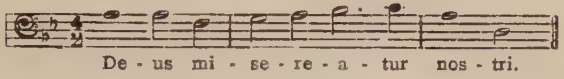
TWO other men, less widely known than Tye and Tallis, achieved a great reputation in their own day, and exercised an important influence on the growth of English Music,—viz, Robert Whyte (or White) and William Mundy.

The first of these was born in the reign of Henry VIII., about 1530 or shortly after, and was probably the son of an organ builder. The question of his parentage, involving interesting details concerning organs at Westminster Abbey, is discussed by Arkwright in Grove's Dictionary. Two years after Elizabeth's accession Robert Whyte took his Mus.Bac. degree (in 1560), the *Grace* speaking of his "ten years' study in music;" and in return, he undertook to write a *Communion Service* for Commencement Day, to be performed at St. Mary's. Shortly afterwards he became Master of the Choristers at Ely Cathedral, in

succession to Tye (according to some accounts his master), entering upon his duties at any rate not later than Michaelmas, 1562, at a salary of £10,—probably equivalent to at least £50 now. While at Ely he was married to Ellen Tye, almost certainly the composer's daughter. Here he remained till 1566, and then appears to have migrated to Chester, as *Magister Choristarum.* In 1570 he was appointed Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey; and the Registers of St. Margaret's record the baptism of three of his daughters. In 1574 the plague raged in Westminster; these daughters died; then Whyte himself, who was buried on November 11th; and finally his wife; two daughters only remaining of the whole family. He was highly esteemed in his own time; and Morley, writing in 1597, mentions his name among those of English musicians not inferior to foreigners. He then suffered eclipse, partly caused by confusion between him and Matthew White, to whom many of his works were ascribed, as well as William White. This confusion is now being elucidated by the labours of Arkwright and Terry. A list of works, including some which are doubtful owing to the cause just mentioned, is given in Grove.

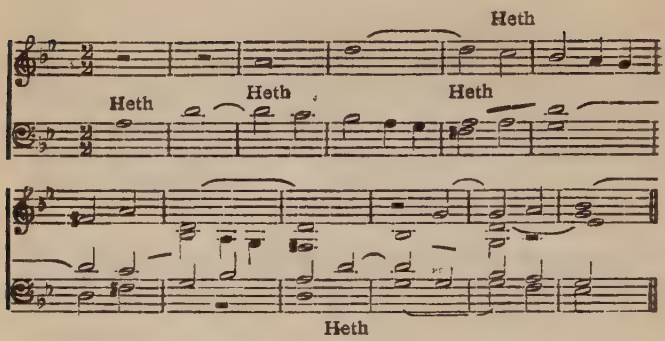
The motet *Deus misereatur*, in six parts, is there stated to be at Christ Church (wanting tenor); at the Music School (tenor only, thus completing), and at Buckingham Palace. Mr. Collins, who lent it to me, however, seems to have copied it at the British Museum (Add. MSS. 30810-5). It is a most impressive piece of work, and enough of itself to justify the high estimation in which Whyte is held among the scholars. Both in technique and in the musical expression of the spirit and emotion of the words it is admirable.

The method is analogous to that employed later by Gibbons and others, in their instrumental pieces. Instead of there being one main subject which dominates the whole, as in Bach's fugues, a number of successive phrases appear, are worked for a time, and then give place to others. In the present case the piece opens with the motif:—



This is treated imitationally, and is then succeeded by a fresh one at the words *et benedicat nobis*; each fresh idea in the words giving rise in the music also to a fresh idea which is polyphonically treated. This scheme, although not giving a central unity to the piece as a whole, affords a reasonable tissue of musical thought, is well carried out, and is the vehicle of real musical feeling.

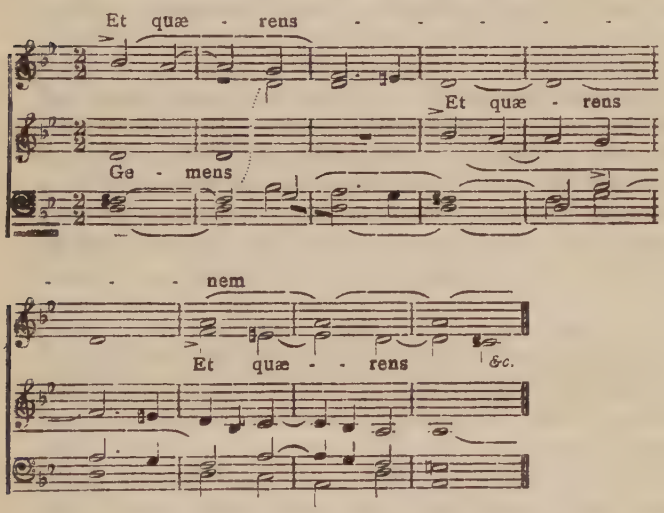
The *Lamentations* (five parts) are a deeply affecting and truly great work. (British Museum, Bodleian, and Ch. Ch.) This is a setting of portions of the Jeremiah *Lamentations* (Cap. I.). The book, it will be remembered, is a sort of ode of a deeply pathetic character, forming an epilogue to the preceding prophetical book, and expressing the writer's grief at the troubles and sins of Israel, the destruction of Jerusalem, and the Captivity. "It is, in the Hebrew, an acrostic, each stanza beginning with a fresh letter of the alphabet." In Whyte's version these letters are preserved, and are set to music, each forming a prelude to the stanza to which it belongs. A note in Dr. Terry's copy, which he has kindly lent me, states that before the figured music there is a portion given in plainsong. This ends on the note G, and the polyphonic part of the work then opens: —



This introduces the section *Peccatum peccavit* (*Jerusalem hath grievously sinned*, Cap. I, 8), which is treated in the same sort of way. Teth then follows, introducing *Sordes ejus* (*Her uncleanness*, I, 9). Next comes Jod, and after it the section *Manum suam* (*The adversary*, I, 10); after which there is an interlude, *Jerusalem convertere ad Dominum tuum* (*Turn, O Jerusalem, to thy Lord God*), in which the imitations almost amount to canon. Caph follows; and after it *Omnis populus ejus* (*All her people sigh*, I, 11). Then Lamed, succeeded by *O vos omnes* (*Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?* I, 12). Here the treble and tenor are in canon throughout, at one bar's interval, and other imitations are continual. Mem comes next, introducing *De excelso* (*From on high*, I, 13). Here succeed Nun, and *Vigilavit*, in plainsong; after which the work concludes with another setting, more homophonic, of *Jerusalem convertere*, the treble leading, for the most part, and being answered by the other four voices.

This bare outline of the scheme of the work cannot, of course, suggest its essential musical value and fine musicianly qualities. The emotional and the technical sides are well balanced, and the work shows

that this man, cut off comparatively early at about the age of 40-3, was a real genius, and, had he lived longer, might have made a more resounding name. As his work is not easily accessible, a passage may be given, not for its technical qualities, but as showing the touching accent which was native to him. It comes from the section *All her people are sighing and seeking bread*:—



I am indebted to Mr. Collins also for the loan of his copy of this work.

Another setting of the same words, in six parts, is preserved at Christ Church, Oxford, and has been lent me by Dr. Terry. This is on a smaller scale. The settings of the letters, Heth, Teth, &c., cover about 4-8 bars, instead of 24 or so, and the music to the text is in a similar ratio. The central *Jerusalem convertere* does not appear, this being kept for the close

only; Nun, and *Vigilavit*, as in the other case, are in plainchant. The work gives the impression, to me at least, of being an earlier one; the forms are smaller; but the spirit is the same, the heart-felt accents speaking direct to the heart. The technique of the part-writing is fine, including continual imitations used, not as intellectual exercises, but as the response of soul to soul in the expression of the emotions awakened by the subject. One of the tenor parts is lost, and a conjectural restoration has been admirably made by Dr. P. C. Buck. In both these works there are a few doubtful points which have to be solved by the scholars. The anthem *O praise God in his holiness*, four parts (British Museum, Add. MSS. 30480-4), was published some time before the war by the Oriana Madrigal Society, transposed up a fourth, under the editorship of Mr. Charles Kennedy Scott (Breitkopf & Haertel); and though of course there has been a difficulty about all such publications, this will probably soon pass. The piece, even so early (early Elizabethan period), has already the characteristics of the English anthem school. It is good imitational writing, with contrasts of massive harmony and a middle section of Handelian runs. It is rather of the sane healthy Anglican type, and gives no clue to the emotional power of the man who wrote the *Lamentations*.

Whyte was evidently a man of very great powers —having the peculiar quality of clairvoyance in his work, that we call genius—and the long neglect which he has suffered ought now to cease. It is no wonder that Dr. Walker classes him with Tallys, Lassus and Palestrina.

II.

In Morley's *Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, Part III, the Master says (the work being in dialogue) :—

" They would not suffer so many fiftes and eightes passe in their workes ; yea, Croce himselfe hath let fiue fiftes together slip in one of his songes, and in many of them you shall finde two.....although the east wind haue not yet blown that custome on this side of the Alpes.....nor shall you readily finde it in the workes of anie of these famous English-men who have been nothing inferiour in Art to any of the aforenamed, as Farefax, Tauerner, Shepherde, Mundy, White, Persons, M. Birde, and diuers others, who neuer thought it greater sacriledge to spurne against the Image of a Saint, then to take two perfect cordes of one kinde together," &c. (Pp. 169 and 170, Ed. 1771).

On the strength of this passage, Mr. Husk, in his article in Grove, regards Mundy as " probably one of those who, although outwardly conforming to the Reformed worship, retained a secret preference for the old faith." There is here, however, no ground in fact for any conclusion either way. Byrd certainly remained attached to the older communion, and suffered accordingly : Taverner as certainly did not, and also suffered accordingly. And in fact disinclination to scorn the symbols that others reverence, and that have been the signs of devotion to countless generations of men, may arise, not from the acceptance of a creed, but from sympathy with, and reverence for, human emotion and aspiration.

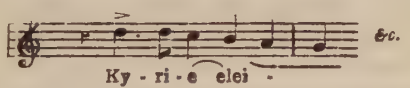
Of William Mundy's opinions, then, we know nothing: neither do we know much of his life. He was born, probably, somewhere near to the time of Taverner's death, about 1540-4, since he was sworn in as a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on November 21st, 1563-4. He was also a Vicar Choral of St. Paul's.

The anthem, *O Lord the Maker of all things*, which has been attributed to Henry VIII, has been thought to be by Mundy, and this view is taken by Mr. Husk in the article already referred to. Other authorities, however, now incline to Shepherd as the author; and the question is still unsettled. A service and three anthems (as well as the foregoing) are printed in Barnard's *Selected Church Music*. Barnard's MS. collections include also another service and two more anthems; and there are eleven Latin motets at the Royal College of Music, and other works at Christ Church and the Music School, Oxford. He probably died in 1591, (towards the close of Elizabeth's reign), as on October 12th of that year, Anthony Anderson was sworn Gentleman of the Chapel Royal in his place.

There are two masses *Upon the Square* (4 parts) in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 17802-5). Dr. Terry has kindly allowed me to see his versions; and I am indebted to Mr. Collins for a like favour.

1. This work, while perhaps not having quite the charm of Taverner's *Westron Wynde*, is interesting as showing that the tendency of the future to weave the musical web of independent and imitational parts was now becoming a generally accepted method. The mass is in short sections with cadences; and there is constant crossing of parts, which, although sometimes troublesome on paper to a modern eye, is good in effect when the voice-qualities are sufficiently dif-

ferent to make the course of the parts clear. The tenor, however, is often for long passages the real bass, which is not desirable in modern choirs, as the lighter tenor quality is not so good for a foundation. Perhaps Mundy had tenors (or baritones?) of peculiar *timbre.*

The Kyrie, as given at Westminster Cathedral, is taken from the second section of the Agnus Dei. The first section opens with a grave bass phrase, above which are imitational figures in three parts. At Section II., the tenor opens, and the phrase

forms the tissue of the music (three parts), giving a touching effect of pleading invocation. At Section III., we again have the three lower parts, with imitational writing. Section IV. is for the three upper parts and still imitational, with the grave subject in alto. In Section V., the tenor has the grave chant, but *this is the real bass;* the bass and alto have an imitational figure above. In Section VI., for the first time we have four-part writing and this too is imitational.

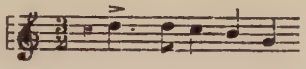
In the Gloria, the same method is followed. The sections are about ten to fifteen bars in length, the writing imitational and the first five sections (in three parts) alternate between the upper and lower voices. In Section II., the tenor is the real bass. In Section VI., at the words *Domine Deus*, a climax is reached by the employment of all four parts, the bass having the grave chant, and the three upper parts entering imitationally with a reminiscence of the phrase quoted above, which might thus in modern idiom be termed

an *invocation motif*. The same kind of procedure is carried on throughout seven more sections, in the last of which we again have four parts as the climax of the Gloria.

Of the Credo, much the same may be said. It varies between duple and triple time. The MS. is corrupt in parts, the whole of the Amen, e.g., being (as Dr. Terry tells me) almost hopeless. The foregoing will give a fair idea of the whole mass. The Agnus Dei, at Westminster Cathedral, consists of Sections I. and III., Section II. having been used for the Kyrie, as stated above. The imitational part-writing is kept up to the end and the whole is good sound work. Mundy was evidently a real influence in the development of the musical idiom as we see it later in Byrd and Gibbons, and through them in modern times.

2. The case is much the same with the second mass (four parts). The text here, too, is corrupt in many places, but this affects only particular passages, and the character of the work stands out clearly. The sectional treatment and the writing of the tenor as the real bass for whole sections—apparently as a matter of design—are the same. Mundy must have had an exceptional body of tenors and of basses with *cantabile* in the upper register. It will be remembered that Handel had a similarly exceptional body of tenors at Cannons, as is shown by *Acis and Galatea*. The mass, as given at Westminster Cathedral, opens with a Kyrie (Agnus Dei I.) having an imitational passage of seven bars, in three parts. In the next section, of similar length, the tenor is the real bass. There are six sections, all being imitational; and in the last all four voices are employed, thus making a climax. One special point may be noted. In the Sanctus after a broad imitational

opening, there follows a section, *Dominus Deus*, on the phrase :—



which reminds one of the similar passage of invocation in the first mass, as mentioned above. In both cases the effect is really touching, and Mundy must have felt this phrase as a motif of appeal in a quite personal way. The opening and closing portions of the Sanctus, with their broad imitations on a rising passage, as of aspiration, also remind one of the closing section of the Sanctus in No. 1. In the Benedictus, too, there is a reminiscence of the phrase just quoted, which seems to have made a peculiar appeal to Mundy.

The masses are remarkable work for their period. Mundy's example must have told, in consequence of his position; and all his influence was evidently thrown in favour of the tendency towards making the music a homogeneous, logical tissue of imitational part-writing as the vehicle of real emotion.

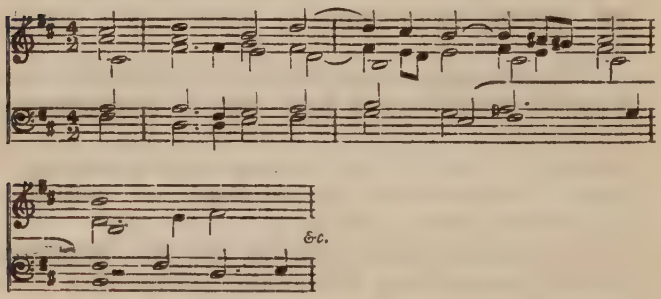
Mr. Collins has shown me also two interesting Alleluias, as well as a Kyrie (four parts), all of which are imitational and good work in the style of the period.

The motet *Adolescentulus sum (I am a very young man and vile)*, which Mr. Collins has copied from various sources, is interesting for two or three reasons. In the British Museum copy and in that at Christ Church, Oxford, parts are wanting; but by collation the complete work has been compiled. It is in six parts, imitational in style and fine in workmanship; while the spirit of agonised self-abasement is well expressed. It is the monkish feeling of the Middle

Ages, which we find also in such passages as Ps. XXII, 6, "but I am a worm and no man;" and in Job XXV, 6 :—

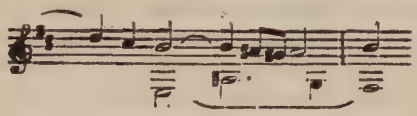
> How much less man, that is a man,
> And the son of man, which is a worm.

The utterance of this mood is most poignant, and in the course of it we find instances of a peculiarity which is characteristic of these early writers and of which much has been said in discussing the music of the period,—what looks to more modern eyes like a combination of simultaneous major and minor chords. For instance, in bar 18, we have the following :—

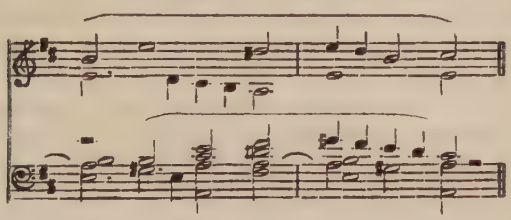


It shows a different mental outlook from that of the average modern musician. It should be remembered that the musical thought of earlier times was mainly polyphonic: the harmonic sense was not so vivid; the thinking in solid blocks of harmony, with the part-writing adjusted to fit—a thing which, later, was carried to such excess as to become a vice—had not yet arisen. Writers thought along a number of horizontal lines; and here, as in all such cases, analysis of the texture will make the passage intelligible even

to those who shrink from the actual sound-effect, and perhaps will make them also disposed to apply the saying: "Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonnner." The two essential lines here are :—



And the resulting dissonance gives a poignancy to the music that well expresses the emotion of the words and that goes far to justify—to many minds does justify—such passages. Another case, shortly before the end of Part I., runs :—



Here, too, the twisting of the various strands, if followed as one follows the courses of a number of coloured threads twisted into a single rope, produces the poignant result; and when clearly realised in simultaneous thought becomes not only logical but really touching and instinct with the beauty of tragedy.

Altogether, it is an intensely human document and throws a flood of light upon the mentality—psychological as well as musical—of the time. Mundy was truly a musician,—a man and no worm! His son, John Mundy, is referred to in Cap. XVIII.

III.

Another valued musician of this period—as will have been gathered from the quotation from Morley at the head of Sec. II. of this chapter—was Robert Parsons, of whose life, however, little is known. He was born in the reign of Henry VIII., probably about 1543, since he was sworn a Gentleman of the Chapel on October 17th, 1563,—five years after Elizabeth's accession. Mr. Husk, in his article in Grove, says that the statement as to his having been an organist at Westminster Abbey is a mistaken one. The statement in question comes from Burney (Ed. 1782, p. 567). Parsons was "drowned in the Trent, at Newark, January 25th, 1569-70."

He wrote for the Reformed Church, and a list of his works is given in the article in Grove just referred to. But in this list is not included the *Ave Maria* of which Burney speaks, evidently with admiration, in the following sentence:

"There are some excellent compositions by Parsons in the MSS. of Christ Church College, Oxford, particularly an *Ave Maria* and an *In Nomine**; but, as we have already exhibited several specimens of Church Music which do honour to the harmonical skill of our countrymen, if not to their Taste, I shall now present the reader with a song by this author, in which, though the Melody and Poetry are somewhat rude, the Harmony and Modulation will be found rich and curious." (*Ibid.*, 567.)

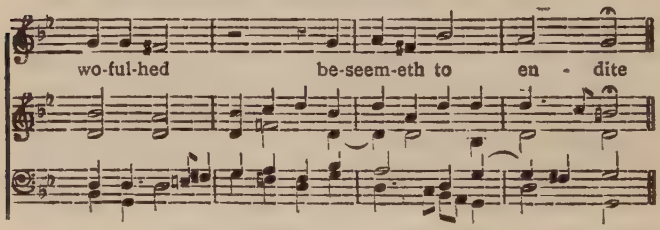
The *Ave Maria* here spoken of has been reprinted

* This was an an ancient Chant to that part of the Mass beginning "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini," upon which the English masters of the sixteenth century had great delight in exercising their science and ingenuity."

by Novello under the editorship of Dr. Terry. It is in five parts, and opens with a four-bar unison passage in the tenor, which is then taken up in the octave below, in the third above and the fourth below. It is an attractive little work; the writing gives a certain sense of freedom; the imitations are easily and naturally managed; and in the treble part there are frequent entries of long holding notes, in each case like a line of light, and at first increasing in brilliance, since each successive entry is a degree higher than the last (from G to E). It is clear that the words *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, which are thus illustrated, called up a vision, hovering in sweet and tender radiance, before the sight of the musician. We find the writer's skill shown in the matter of almost the same music repeated with a different distribution of parts and imitations; but it all flows along with a natural ease and grace, and it fades quietly away at the end as at the vanishing of the vision. Altogether it is a piece of real charm.

Mr. Husk, in the article from which I have already quoted, says of Parsons: "His scientific skill and feeling for curious effects of harmony make him an important figure in English music." To judge from a remark of Burney's in a footnote to the song, *Enforced by love and feare*, of which he speaks in the passage given above and which he prints, his impression in this matter is not so favourable. The song in question is written for alto voice, accompanied by a "consort of viols" (quartet). It is quite a pleasant song according to the idiom of its time. There are imitations between the voice and the viols, and the effect must have been very attractive. Rather more than half way through, Burney gives a footnote: "Here is a succession of three fifths by contrary motion" (marked in the text 5 5 5, in large type, as the Dominie marked our early

exercises); "a licence which the best old Masters frequently took; but an example of such equivocal modulation as this song furnishes would be difficult to find elsewhere." It is a typical instance of the pedagogue's point of view. Can this be fairly called a "licence," since it was customary, the "rule" being formulated later, when the practice had more or less ceased and the teachers forbade what the better writers were avoiding? Should one judge the work of a past age by the rules of his own? The "equivocal modulations" of which Burney speaks seem to be a hovering, towards the end, between what we should call the tonic minor and the relative major, thus :—



Surely no very reprehensible procedure! In fact it looks like a feeling towards the key-system, and thus to have a prophetical tinge.

CHAPTER IX.

William Byrd.

WE come now to one of the greatest men in English music,—William Byrd, "never to be named without reverence," as his pupil, Morley, says. He was born (as is shown by his will, in which he speaks of himself as "nowe in the eightieth yeare of myne age") in 1542 or 1543, and probably at Lincoln. A persistent tradition says, as already stated, that he studied his art under Tallys; and there is no reason to doubt the truth of it,—in fact there is one actual piece of evidence that seems to confirm it, as we shall see shortly. Whether he was a chorister at the Chapel Royal or St. Paul's Cathedral is disputed; what is certain is that about 1563 he was appointed organist of Lincoln Cathedral, and held the position for some eight or nine years. In September, 1568, he was married at St. Margaret's-in-the-Close, to Ellen Birley. His eldest son, Christopher, was baptised in the same church in November, 1569, and his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, in January, 1571-2.

Meanwhile (February, 1569) he had been sworn a member of the Chapel Royal; but he does not seem to have left Lincoln till late in 1572, for it was not till the December of that year that his successor, Thomas Butler, was appointed on his recommendation.

At the Chapel Royal Byrd took his turn as organist with Tallys and others. In January, 1575, as we have seen, he and his old master Tallys received from Queen Elizabeth letters patent granting them the monopoly for twenty-one years of printing and selling music and music paper; and in the same year the *Cantiones quæ ab argumento sacræ vocantur* were issued, containing thirty-four motets, sixteen by Tallys and eighteen by Byrd. Among the poems prefixed is one which contains the following two lines:—

"Tallisius magno dignus honore senex,
Et Birdus tantum natus decorare magistrum."

The implication certainly seems to be that *magistrum* refers to Tallys, and we have in this the piece of contemporary evidence, referred to above, confirming the tradition that Byrd was Tallys's pupil. These *Cantiones* were in five and six parts.

Neither the monopoly nor the move to London seems to have been to Byrd's pecuniary advantage at first; for in 1577 we find him petitioning the Queen for the reversion of a twenty-one years' lease of forty pounds, since he was "called to Her Majesty's service from Lincoln Cathedral where he was well settled, and is now, through great charge of wife and children, fallen into debt and great necessity. By reason of his daily attendance in the Queen's service he is letted from reaping such commodity by teaching as heretofore he did. Her grant two years ago of a licence for

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printing music has fallen out to their loss and hindrance to the value of two hundred marks at least." Apparently, even in this Augustan age, people were not lavish in their purchases of music. The petition appears to have been granted.

In 1585 Tallys died, and the monopoly remained the sole property of Byrd. In 1588, he published the *Psalmes, Sonets and Songs of Sadness and Pietie, made into Musicke of fiue parts*, which was issued by Thomas Este as "the assignee of W. Byrd." Probably, too, in the same year the three masses mentioned below were issued, as well as two madrigals which appeared in the first book of Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*. Next year (1589) came the *Songs of Sundrie Natures, some of Grauitie, and others of Mirth, fit for all companies and voyces*. This also was issued by Este, and a second edition by his widow in 1610. In this year (1589) came also the *Liber Primus Sacrarum Cantionum quinque vocum* distinct from that issued by Tallys and Byrd conjointly in 1575. In 1590 two settings by Byrd of *This sweet and merry month of May* appeared in Thomas Watson's *First sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished*, one being sung before Queen Elizabeth at Lord Hertford's place at Elvetham in 1591. In 1591, too, the *Liber Secundus Sacrarum Cantionum* appeared. About this time came also a large proportion of the virginal music discussed below.

It will thus be seen that this part of Byrd's activity was contemporaneous with the latter part of the life of Palestrina (1524(?)-94). The latter part of his life coincided with the childhood and youth of Carissimi (1604-74), with whom "la cantate atteint son plein développement" (Schweizer: *J. S. Bach;* p. 75).

There is evidence that in 1578 Byrd was living at Harlington (Middlesex), where he probably remained

till 1593 when he removed to Stondon in Essex, in somewhat peculiar circumstances. Stondon Place, a farm of some two hundred acres, near Ongar, belonged to William Shelley, but was let to Lawrence and William Hollingworth. Shelley was convicted of high treason, and sent to the Fleet for complicity in a Popish plot: the farm was sequestrated, and Byrd obtained a Crown lease of it (1595) for the lives of his son Christopher and his daughters Elizabeth and Rachel. On Shelley's death, about 1601, his heirs paid a large sum for the restoration of their property and tried to force Byrd to give up Stondon Place which was part of Mrs. Shelley's jointure. The quarrel went on for years, but Byrd, being under court protection, held his own till, after Mrs. Shelley's death in 1609, he bought the property from the heir who was made a baronet. The curious thing about all this is that although Byrd was installed in the forfeiture of a Roman Catholic recusant, he was himself a Roman Catholic. He, personally, seems to have been left alone as a rule: but his wife and his servant, John Reason, were continually being prosecuted and fined for non-attendance at church. On a few occasions he was himself fined, but his services were apparently so valuable, and he had such powerful friends (there is a cordial letter in his favour extant from the Earl of Northumberland to Lord Burghley) that he was generally left in peace.

There seems to be some doubt as to the date of the appearance of the *Gradualia*, in two books,—a collection of motets for the complete ecclesiastical (Roman Catholic) year. Barclay Squire (in Grove) says they both appeared in 1607; while Bumpus says, Book I. in 1589 and Book II. in 1610. In the first of these we find the *Turbarum Voces*, or responses of the crowd in St. John's account of the Passion, on

which some remarks will be found below. This piece was re-issued by Novello in 1899. Barclay Squire adds that a second edition of both appeared in 1610. Dr. Terry confirms Barclay Squire's version, and this seems most probable. In 1611 came the *Psalmes, Songs and Sonnets; some solemne, others joyfull, framed to the life of the Words; fit for Voyces or Viols*, &c. In the same year, probably, he took his share with Orlando Gibbons and Bull in the publication of *Parthenia*, a collection of virginal music. In 1614 he contributed four anthems to Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowfull Soule*, and these were the last works published during his lifetime. He died (probably at home) on July 4th, 1623 (*ætat* 80-81); and the cheque book of the Chapel Royal, in recording the fact, speaks of him as "father of musicke," possibly on account not only of his great age but also of the veneration in which he was held. The latter part of his life was contemporaneous with the earlier portion of that of Bach's great fore-runner in German Reformation music, Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), of whose *Seven Words*, *The Conversion of Saul*, and *Matthew Passion*, Schweitzer speaks so eloquently in his book, *J. S. Bach* (p. 76-7).

Besides his work for the Church and for singers, Byrd wrote largely for the virginals; and he evidently attained great popularity, since in the contemporary collections his pieces are very numerous, often outnumbering all others. Thus in the *Fitz-William Virginal Book* he has fifty-nine pieces,—more than anyone else; in *Parthenia* he has eight, Bull seven and Gibbons six; *Lady Nevill's Book* (still unpublished and preserved at Eridge Castle) consists entirely of his pieces; while in *Benjamin Cosyn's Book* and *Will Foster's Book* he is well represented.*

* C.L., Cap. 17, 18 and 19.

In the *Mulliner Book* (in the British Museum), however, nothing of his appears. A number of these pieces have been collected and issued with modernised notation, &c., by Professor Bantock (Novello) in two books,—one an album containing a dozen pieces from these various sources, and the other containing three dances from the *Fitz-William Virginal Book*. Many of them are interesting, very modal in feeling, and show the method of the development of instrumental from vocal music (except in the case of the dances), the usual plan being to take a song and make informal variations upon it. *The Carman's Whistle*, *The Woods so Wild* and *O mistress mine* are good instances and very attractive. Another striking piece is *The Bells*, consisting of one hundred and thirty-nine bars, variations on a one-bar phrase (tonic and supertonic). One can hardly say that monotony is entirely avoided; but it is a remarkable effort and a curious forerunner to Grieg's *Klokkeklang*.

In view of Byrd's Roman Catholic convictions, it is only to be expected that he should have left works for that ritual,—in fact, most of his anthems are adaptations from Latin words. There are also, however, three masses left to us, as has been already stated, which were published (probably in 1588) without title pages,—a natural precaution when fines for non-attendance at the Protestant church were common in his household and when he was himself engaged as writer and performer in the Chapel Royal. It is not heroic, perhaps; but it is not given to everyone to refuse to bow down in the House of Rimmon. One of these masses is in three parts and was published in 1901 by R. & T. Washbourne. Walker says of this work: "Byrd secures, it is true, a variety of expression and a continually shifting play of vocal colour that are quite astonishing in view of his slender

material, but the work aims throughout primarily at grace not at strength; and indeed nothing could be more tender and serene than the exquisite Agnus Dei," — which he then quotes and which truly deserves his enthusiasm. The structure is canonic, but one does not feel any artifice. The next mass is in four parts and in F minor (originally G minor), and has been re-issued by Novello. It is a great work; laid out on large lines, scholarly, containing canons and such devices, and is fine in feeling. The passage *Fili unigenite Iesu Christe* and its echo at the close of the mass are wonderfully delicate; and although the work contains some of the "false relations" so common then, these must be accepted as part of the idiom of the time. The third mass is in five parts and has been re-published by Barclay Squire and Dr. R. R. Terry. I had an opportunity of hearing it at Birmingham Cathedral under Mr. Stephenson in December, 1909. It is fine in workmanship and has, infusing the Roman Catholic atmosphere, a certain contemplative sweetness that was one of Byrd's chief characteristics.

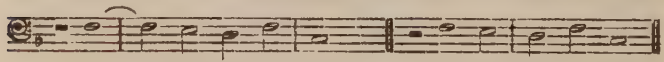
Turning to the music for the Reformed Church, we find a *Service in D minor* (six parts), preserved by Boyce, who drew from his usual source,—Barnard's part books. It is grave and devotional, but not, I think, the most favourable specimen of Byrd's genius, —a fact which is not surprising when it is considered that he was writing for an alien communion. It contains some of the earlier crudities of part writing, the parts running into one another with false relations here and there in a manner that is not very engaging, —as, for instance, at the words "Before the face of all people" in the Nunc Dimittis.

Boyce has also preserved three anthems. *O Lord, turn Thy wrath* (F; five parts) is an adaptation of

Ne Irascaris, and is fine in feeling; the opening, perhaps, is not so very striking, but the music becomes more so as it proceeds. There is a middle section, "Look down," which forms a good contrast, and the imitational passage which follows is well worked up.

Sing joyfully unto God (C; six parts) was the one chosen by Professor Bantock for the series of anthems of which I have spoken, and is a very fine piece of work. It has had to be transposed up a fourth (into F), as no modern choir could undertake it in the original key. It is full of fine, jubilant feeling, imitational and good in workmanship. It, too, has a striking central portion, like fanfares of trumpets, at the words "Blow up the trumpet in the new moon."

But beyond comparison, the finest of these is the anthem now known as *Bow thine ear*, originally *Civitas Sancti Tui* in the *Cantiones Sacræ, I.* It is in five parts, in G (originally F), and is one of the world's great pieces of music, both for feeling and economy of material. The opening is imitational, grave and serious; the centre piece—*Sion, Thy Sion, is wasted and brought low*—is inexpressibly touching; while the latter part is full of a poignant melody, being woven upon the opening phrase, slightly modified, and the basses reiterating *Desolata est* (or "Desolate and void") over and over again with heart breaking intensity:—



This, too, has been reissued by Curwen under Bantock's editorship.

Byrd's cast of mind seems to have been too serious for him to spend much time on the ordinary madrigal; but the *Songs of Sundrie Natures* contain, besides

religious songs, many of a more worldly character. They are in three, four, five and six parts, and have much of that blitheness, as of a grown-up child, of which we have spoken as characterising Byrd. Professor Bantock performed a couple of them (with strings) some year or two ago at the Midland Institute School of Music, and they proved very attractive and certainly worth reviving. These (as will be shown in Chapter XXI.) are really the first upspringing of the English madrigal school.

The *Turbarum Voces* referred to above are interesting as showing the difference between Byrd and Bach. The intense dramatic force of the *Barrabas*, for instance, in the *Matthew Passion* is here quite absent. This piece has been attributed to Tye in an eighteenth century manuscript, and this has led to some confusion. Another work probably of Byrd is the celebrated canon *Non Nobis Domine*, which has been attributed to Palestrina. There are many other anthems, &c., of which considerations of space preclude mention. Several have appeared in modern guise. But there is still a great mass of Byrd's work hidden away in museums at Peterhouse College and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Christ Church and the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Aldrich MSS.), Lambeth Palace, &c., which it is to be hoped will soon see the light.

Altogether, Byrd was a truly great musician who has been unduly neglected. He ranks with Palestrina, but has a distinct individuality of his own. As Walker says of the masses: "They are not so suave and broad as the work of Palestrina, but they are somehow more human and personal, and show (like all Byrd's great work) a strangely fascinating mixture of ruggedness and tenderness." This is very just. It

is a scandal that here, in his own land, a genius of such quality (as well as such others as Gibbons, Wilbye, &c.) should have been so long neglected; and we look forward with much interest to the complete monumental edition of Byrd's works which we are glad to learn there is now every probability of our seeing before very long.

CHAPTER X.

Orlando Gibbons.

TWO personalities stand out pre-eminent among the Church composers of the reign of James I. —Byrd and Gibbons. The first of these had held a foremost position in music during the preceding reign, and was approaching his last period during the time when the second came to his maturity: his long life closed only a couple of years before that of his younger contemporary, and seven years after that of Shakespeare.

Byrd and Gibbons differ in many ways. Byrd was a Catholic, and he had the qualities which that Church fosters,—especially a certain sweet devotionalism. There is also a touch of mysticism which we do not find in Gibbons. Gibbons accepted the new order of things in England, and wrote definitely for the Anglican Church. As Walker says:—

"He was an English artist, and nothing more; and as such he is one of our glories. Though he never reaches the same depths of etherealised tenderness and mystic sublimity as Byrd, he has perhaps more variety of style; and his easy mastery over all his material enabled him to succeed brilliantly in anything he touched" (p. 75).

This is in a sense true; and yet it hardly does Gibbons justice, suggesting as it does a want of depth with which it is scarcely fair to charge him. He does not appear at his best in works like the celebrated *Service in F*, which has been taken as a sort of prototype of Anglican services. In that work he seems to have felt with many polite congregations, who appear to think it indecorous to exhibit emotion in public, and especially in church. The anthems are very different, it is true; and on the whole his title of "Father of pure Anglican music" is well deserved. But even here he does not achieve the deeply touching accents of "Zion, Thy Zion," in Byrd's *Bow thine ear*, or of the closing passages to the words *Desolata est*. At the same time it should be remembered that this is an exceptional case, even with Byrd, who has nothing else to compare with it; and also that, as hinted above, this intense emotion is not specially desired in the Anglican Church. Perhaps we see Gibbons's most central and intimate personality clearest in some of his madrigals. When a man breaks away from the tradition of his time and strikes out a new vein for himself, we may generally conclude that there is some special internal emotion which is forcing its way into expression. Now Gibbons's madrigals differ considerably from the type current in his day. He took no part in *The Triumphs of Oriana*; and his madrigals consist of a collection of twenty, written to words by

his patron, Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom they are dedicated. They are mostly serious musings upon life and its meaning, of really poetical quality, and evidently they appealed deeply to Gibbons, whose music is full of the same qualities intensified and etherealised. There have been those who have slighted them as not being quite madrigals. There have also been those who have disparaged Shakespeare's sonnets as not being sonnets. Surely it is the quality of the work which should count, not the label we attach to it.

Orlando Gibbons was the son of one of the town musicians (or waits) of Cambridge, and was born in 1583. He entered the choir of King's College in February, 1596, and here he received his education, being a pupil of his eldest brother Edward, then Master of the Choristers. At Christmas, 1597, his name appears at the top of the list as that of senior chorister; shortly after this, however, his voice seems to have broken. Nevertheless, he continued to write music for various festivities in connection with the college; and records exist of his having been paid for such pieces in regard to Michaelmas, 1601, 1602 and 1603, as well as to Christmas, 1602 and 1603. In March, 1604, he succeeded Arthur Cock as organist at the Chapel Royal, and in 1606 he took his degree (Mus.Bac.) at Cambridge. About this time he married Elizabeth, daughter of John Patten, of Westminster, yeoman of the vestry of the Chapel Royal,—a union which resulted in seven children. In 1611 he joined with Byrd and Bull in the publication of *Parthenia*, a collection of pieces for the virginals, Byrd contributing eight, Bull seven and Gibbons six. About the same time, though possibly somewhat earlier, he published as a separate venture a set of nine *Fantasies for Viols*,—four "for treble, meane and bass viols, and five for two trebles

and bass." These seem to have been very popular and were reprinted several times. In 1612 came the *First Set of Madrigals and Motets of Five Parts; apt for Viols and Voyces.* In 1619 he was appointed virginal player to the king. In 1622 he took the degrees of Mus.Bac. and Mus.Doc. at Oxford, the anthem *O clap your hands* being written for this occasion. A curious fact is recorded in regard to this event. It seems that Camden founded a chair of history, the first occupant of which was to be Heather, or Heyther, and requested the university to bestow the degree of Mus.Doc. on Gibbons and Heather, though the latter was not a composer. A copy of *O clap your hands* exists bearing the inscription "Dr. Heather's Commencement Song, composed by Dr. Orlando Gibbons;" and it actually seems that the piece was accepted as the "exercise" of the two honorary recipients of the degree. In 1623 Gibbons was appointed organist at Westminster Abbey; and in the same year we find a record of his living in the Woolstaple, Westminster. In 1625 he was commissioned to write the music for the reception of Henrietta Maria by Charles I., and had to be at Canterbury for the occasion. Here he was seized with apoplexy and died on Whitsunday, June 5th. He was buried in the cathedral, and a monument was erected to his memory in the wall of the north aisle. It may be of interest to note that the foundation of opera was laid well before Gibbons's death by Jacopo Peri (1561-1633). *Dafne* was performed privately at Florence in 1597, and *Euridice* in public in 1600. From this latter event the history of opera is dated. Associated with Peri was Caccini (1550-1618).

Boyce has preserved Gibbons's Service in F, referred to above and also five anthems, — viz., *Hosanna*, *Lift up your Heads*, *Almighty and Everlast-*

ing God, O clap your Hands and (its second part) *God is gone up.* Of the service there is little now to say, since it has set the type of such music ever since and its method has thus become familiar. It is good sound work, without too many points of imitation, and largely homophonic, so that the words may not be difficult to follow. It has a certain impersonal elevation, but one must not—as hinted above—look for much feeling. The passages "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb," and "was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate" pass with the same glassy calm as the reference to the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven, &c. Gibbons could be emotional in his madrigals, but he seems to have regarded this as "ritual" and outside human feeling,—or at least an improper occasion for its expression. One may remark further, however, that it is not an easy task to treat with musical emotion and interest a series of ideas rapidly run through at the pace that is customary in the Anglican service. In the Mass, the various portions are separated and treated at greater length, and this makes a definite mental attitude and emotional treatment more possible.

In 1873, Ouseley published a further collection of of Gibbons's church music, consisting of a couple of Preces (in F and G), a Venite in F and a Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in D minor. In these latter, there is more contrast and variety of effect, there being solo passages and more polyphonic treatment; but even here the first of the two phrases referred to above passes without any emotional reflection in the music. In addition, Ouseley's collection contains twenty anthems, four hymn tunes, organ transpositions of the five anthems preserved by Boyce and one of the Service in F into G.

Of the anthems some are full and some verse. To speak of one or two in detail, let us take first those preserved by Boyce. Among these is *Hosanna to the Son of David* (six parts),—the anthem chosen by Professor Bantock for the series already referred to. It is a magnificent piece of work, with a fine rhythmical swing and full of jubilation. The part writing is free and imitational. In the middle is a quieter section ("Peace in Heaven") hinting at the peace in the heart of all true rejoicing. After this, the answering cries of "Hosanna" break out afresh with renewed gladness and bring the piece to a joyous climax at the end. Dr. Walker says:—

"We see him at his greatest in anthems like *Hosanna to the Son of David* or *Lift up your Heads* or *O clap your hands*, the words of which forcibly suggest action and movement...Magnificent works like these take rank side by side with the masterpieces of the older men; if they lack something of the high aloofness they add expressive colour. Taken at its proper speed, *Hosanna to the Son of David* sounds like a peal of bells (the slow pace at which this gorgeously brilliant work is too often sung quite robs it of its joyous swing) and similarly *Lift up your Heads* and *O clap your Hands* (especially its second part *God is gone up*) are charged through and through with vitality. All the details are flawless and yet the whole is conceived as a unity from start to finish; and the great massive onset of the music is one of the things most worthy of remembrance in English art." (*History of Music in England*, pp. 75-6.)

Of the other three referred to in this admirable judgment, *Lift up your Heads*, is in six parts, imita-

tional and strong. It breaks into a massive passage at "and the King of Glory shall come in." The question "Who is the King of Glory?" is given to two trebles and tenor, and the remainder is a polyphonic and jubilant reply, "The Lord strong and mighty," &c. Personally, I think I like best the remaining two of those Walker discusses, and especially the last. *O clap your hands* (eight parts) is Gibbons's degree composition and is a grand piece of work. *God is gone up* (eight parts), besides its magnificent polyphony, is enriched with a number of antiphonal passages which add vastly to its variety of effect.

This is the Record of John is in a somewhat different style and seems almost like a foreshadowing of a later period and—as the writer in Grove says—"shows the influence of the new Italian music and the monodic style upon one of the greatest of all the polyphonic writers." It is divided between soli and choruses, only the last of which is polyphonic and that only to a slight degree. It was written for Archbishop Laud while president of St. John's College, Oxford (1611-21), for St. John the Baptist's Day.

O Thou, the central Orb, originally written for an accompaniment of viols, suggests one of Bach's methods. It opens with an alto solo (4-2), but after sixteen bars the chorus breaks in (3-2) with the hymn *Come, quickly come!* Soprano and alto follow, and are again succeeded by the hymn. Then, after a passage for six soli, the hymn appears a third time, and is followed by a polyphonal Amen. This anthem is not included in Grove's list. It, and another, *Great Lord of Lords* (both preserved by Ouseley), had originally words referring (1) to Charles I.'s being in Scotland; and (2) to his rapid recovery

from sickness. Another anthem not given in Grove's list is *Almighty God who by Thy Son*, found in seventeenth century voice parts and an old organ book at Durham Cathedral, and edited by the organist, Dr. Armes.

Space fails for further discussion of these interesting anthems, but they will be found to repay study. There are also two hymns contributed to Leighton's *Tears and Lamentacions* (1614), and sixteen from Wither's *Hymns and Songs of the Church*, six of which appear in *Hymns Ancient and Modern.*

The madrigals (in five parts) were re-issued complete in 1841 by the Musical Antiquarian Society. *The Silver Swan* is almost too well known to bear comment; but a word of caution may be given on one point. The first note in the counter-tenor (alto in the modern editions) in bars 10 and 17 should be not D but E♭. It has apparently been altered by some editor who thought that Gibbons would not write an unprepared augmented fifth. This is a comparatively slight piece, but full of feeling. The words of these madrigals are, as has been said, probably by Sir Christopher Hatton, and reach a very high level. *Dainty Fine Bird* has a flavour of Lovelace and Herrick, and the music of the close,

"Thou livest singing, but I sing and die,"

is exquisite. *Trust not, fair youth* is somewhat in the vein of Shakespeare's sonnets and Herrick's *Gather ye rosebuds.* A lovely passage occurs in *Fair is the Rose*, where the poet, speaking of the snow, says: "So white, so sweet, was my fair mistress' face,"—as she lay dead. The music drops with a sudden hush into minims and semibreves. It is marked in the popular

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editions *crescendo* and *diminuendo;* but an almost breathless *pp* would be more fitting, and the Musical Antiquarian edition gives *p* without *crescendo.* Another fine specimen is *What is our Life? a Play of Passion.* A striking passage occurs at

"Our graves that hide us from the searching sun
Are like drawn curtains when the play is done."

And at the close:—

"Thus march we playing to our latest rest;
Only we die in earnest,—that's no jest."

The words of this piece have been ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, but they are probably Hatton's, as stated above. It is in this type of work, I think, that we have the most individual and intimate side of Gibbons's genius. Before leaving the choral works, it may be well to mention a humorous piece, *The Cries of London* (MS., Royal College of Music, and Additional MSS., British Museum); and *The Country Cry* and similar pieces (British Museum, Additional MSS.).

Passing now to the instrumental works, we may remark that Gibbons was one of the chief influences in achieving a distinct technique in composition of this kind. The touch is not very certain at this period in such matters. Instrumental music grew along two lines,—from the dance and from vocal music. It was customary for madrigals and anthems to be accompanied, the one by viols, the other by organ (playing the same notes); and from this it was an easy step, and one continually taken, for the instruments to play the piece alone when there were no voices. Thus we get *In Nomines,* either on the organ or transferred

to the harpsichord; and, by an analogous course, Gibbons's *Fantasies of Three Parts* for viols (1609-10).* The handling is by no means as certain as it is in vocal music. The first four are for treble, alto and bass; and the remainder for two trebles and bass, the effect of this last being sometimes rather thin. The style is fugal; but the first subject often drops out and others appear, especially towards the end, to be worked up into a peroration. Nos. 1 and 3 were performed by Professor Bantock at Birmingham a year or two ago, and proved quite interesting.

Finer in every way is the *Fantazia of Foure Parts*, which appears in *Parthenia* (1611). It is grave and serious, but not highly individualised as instrumental music. When one remembers, however, that this came nearly one hundred years before the Bach fugues and compares it with the other instrumental work of the time, one cannot but be struck with the value of Gibbons's influence in the growth of the art. Of Gibbons's other pieces in *Parthenia*, the most attractive is *Lord Salisbury, his Pavan.* This appears also in the *Fitz-William Virginal Book*, in which — curiously enough for so distinguished a man — Gibbons is only represented by two pieces, the other being *The Woods so Wilde*, which shows traces of the immature technique already mentioned. The semiquaver passages above and below the subject are of no particular interest: mere rapidity seems to have satisfied the hearers. In the quieter portion, however, there is some feeling for the sentiment of the title. There are twenty-five pieces by Gibbons in *Benjamin Cosyn's Book*† and eleven *In Nomines*, besides voluntaries in the Christchurch Library, Oxford.

Lists of Gibbons's works are easily accessible

* Cf. also Cap. XIX. † Cf. Cap. XVII.

in Grove and in Myles Foster's *Anthems and Anthem Composers*. Gibbons—the English Palestrina, as he has been called—is one of the chief glories of the English School; and it is to be hoped that in this age of monumental editions someone with sufficient leisure will see his way to undertake this labour of love on behalf of Gibbons. When we see the Morley madrigals appearing in the worthy form they do under the editorship of the Rev. E. H. Fellowes, it seems only fitting that Byrd and Gibbons should soon be treated with like reverence, and this, in fact, may be now anticipated with certainty.

CHAPTER XI.

John Bull.

THE next man whom we have to consider is John Bull, who in some ways stands a little apart from the rest of the Elizabethan and Jacobean group. They are, in the main, choral writers, though they wrote also for harpsichord and viols. He is, in the main, an instrumentalist and writer for harpsichord, though he also composed choral works. Besides this, we find in him an essentially pioneer nature; he reaches forward into the future to a far greater extent than any of his contemporaries. This does not always make his music more attractive or valuable, but it does give it a peculiar interest. He was fond of experiments in rhythm and in other matters, as we shall see; and in some cases he anticipated the future to a remarkable extent.

He was born of a Somersetshire family in 1562, and was educated at the Chapel Royal under William

Blitheman (several of whose pieces are in *The Mulliner Book*, a collection of virginal music of about 1560, now in the British Museum).* On December 24th, 1582, he became organist at Hereford Cathedral; but in January, 1585, he returned to the Chapel Royal, and on Blitheman's death in 1591 he succeeded to his share of the organist's work. On July 9th, 1586, he had been admitted Mus.Bac. at Oxford, "having practised in that faculty fourteen years." On July 7th, 1592, he became Mus.Doc. in the same university, and at some time previous had taken a similar degree at Cambridge. These scholastic honours do not seem to have been productive of material wealth, however, for on April 20th, 1591, we find him petitioning the queen for the reversion of a lease of thirty pounds per annum "to relieve his poverty, which altogether hinders his studies." He seems to have received one of twenty marks per annum. In 1596, he was appointed—on Queen Elizabeth's nomination—first professor of music at Gresham College. Sir Thomas Gresham had died in 1579 and according to his direction these lectures had to be delivered in Latin. Bull was not a Latinist, but his reputation was so high and his position in the queen's favour such that the executors, by an ordinance dated 1597, dispensed with this requirement in his case. His inaugural address was given on October 6th, 1597, and was printed by Este.

In 1601, Bull seems to have suffered in health, and went abroad for a change of air and scene, leaving as his deputy at Gresham College, Thomas Byrd, second son of the great William Byrd. Bull travelled in France and visited St. Omer, where he is said to have performed a musical feat such as tradition is fond of attributing to prodigies. The story is

told by Anthony Wood and relates that Bull called, as one of the uninitiated, on a celebrated musician, who showed him a work in forty parts; whereupon Bull asked for pen, ink and paper, shut himself up, and emerged an hour or two later with forty additional parts, thus calling forth the exclamation: "Either you must be the devil or Dr. Bull." Whatever truth there may be in the story, it at least indicates the reputation of the man of whom it could be told. He seems to have extended his travels into Germany.

Queen Elizabeth died in March, 1603, but Bull's position at the Chapel Royal remained unchanged. In December, 1606, he was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company,—"by service, having been bound apprentice to Thomas, Earl of Sussex, who was free of the Company." A list is extant, dated December 31st, 1606, of persons to whom James I. was to present "gold chains, plates or medals," apparently the New Year honours, and Bull's name is included. In July, 1607, the king and Prince Henry (who died much lamented by the poets and finer spirits, leaving Charles heir to the crown) dined at Merchant Taylors' Hall; and Bull, in cap, gown and hood, discoursed music the while upon a "small payre of organes, placed there for that purpose onley."

In December of the same year (1607), Bull resigned his Gresham professorship. This could be held only by unmarried men, and Bull was contemplating matrimony with (he being now forty-five) a young lady of twenty-four, Elizabeth Walter, lady-in-waiting to the Marchioness of Winchester. The Bishop of London's license is dated December 22nd. In 1611, we find his name first on the roll of Prince Henry's musicians, with a salary of forty pounds per

annum. Mr. Barclay Squire states that, about this time, he wrote for a royal marriage (February, 1612-13) an anthem, *God, the Father, God the Son*, which however does not figure in the list of the extant works.

Bull's later life is involved in some mystery. In 1613, he went abroad secretly, thus forfeiting all his appointments. Some have said this was because he had become a Roman Catholic; but this is strongly denied and the step is attributed to some irregularities in his life. He would seem to have been a man of strong passions and certainly his portrait favours the supposition, being evidently that of a man of emotional temperament. Attention however has been drawn to the fact that he had apparently been preparing for the step for some time previously, as he had arranged for his son's name to appear in place of his own in a patent dated April, 1612. Whatever the cause, he went to Brussels and became one of the organists in the Archduke's chapel. In 1617, he succeeded Waelrent as organist at Antwerp Cathedral; and there is a record of his having been living in 1620 in a house adjoining the south door (Place Verte). He died there on March 12th or 13th, 1628, and was buried in the cathedral.

The portrait just referred to is in the Music School at Oxford. It shows a dark, rather swarthy man of a somewhat Italian type, with black hair, beard and eyes, which last are fine and arresting. The beard and moustache are slight; the ruff is in the embroidered Elizabethan fashion; and there is at one side an hour glass surmounted by a skull having a bone across the mouth. Round the frame runs a verse indicative of the esteem in which he was held:—

"The bull by force in field doth raigne,
But Bull by skill good will doth gayne."

A good reproduction forms the frontispiece of the Bull Album, issued by Novello and edited by Bantock. Another portrait was formerly in the possession of Dr. Cummings.

Bull was the chief virtuoso of his time, and has been called an Elizabethan Liszt. As a composer, he thought on the whole in terms of the harpsichord, was an untiring innovator, and holds an honourable place. In *Parthenia* (q. v. Cap. XIX.), published in 1611, seven of the pieces are by Bull; in *Benjamin Cosyns's Virginal Book* (q. v. Cap. XVII.) there are thirty; and in the *Fitz-William Virginal Book* (q. v. Cap. XVIII.), forty-four: some of these, however, are duplicates. A selection of ten of these last is given in the album above referred to, and affords a very fair idea of Bull's work: if anything, perhaps, a little over-favourable, since the most interesting pieces have naturally been chosen. Bull could be dull. One of the most remarkable (and characteristic) pieces is the Hexachord there given (there are two in the *Fitz-William Virginal Book*, the other being less attractive). It throws a strong light on Bull's pioneer nature, for in many ways it anticipates Bach's work of a century later. It is based on a *canto fermo* consisting of the six notes G to E, ascending and descending, with three accompanying parts. The subject then starts on A, and so on, rising a tone each time. This brings him, at the fourth presentation, to C♯ D♯ E♯ &c.,—a serious difficulty. Bull writes C♯ E♭ F, &c., and goes the whole round of the keys. It will be seen that this involves equal temperament tuning or something near it, or the piece would be intolerable, though it has been generally supposed that Bach was the first to initiate this method with the *Wohltemperirte Klavier*. There are some complicated cross rhythms towards the end,—a thing in which Bull was fond of experimenting. We

have not space to discuss these pieces further; but we may just mention *The King's Hunt*, *A Gigge*, and *Dr. Bull's Myselfe* as attractive and characteristic pieces in a lighter vein.

Of the anthems, there are not a large number extant, and apparently only one in print,—the one given by Professor Bantock in the series already mentioned and entitled *O Lord my God.* These are the words in the version preserved by Boyce; but Mr. Bumpus possesses a copy in an ancient organ book set to the Epiphany Collect *O God, who by the leading of a star*, and the anthem has been called *The Star Anthem.** It seems probable that it was written for the Epiphany Service at the Chapel Royal, "when the symbolical offerings of gold, frankincense and myrrh were, and still are, made by the sovereign." Myles B. Foster has it in his list as *Almighty God, which by the leading*, and gives *O Lord my God* (Boyce) as a separate anthem. The idiom of the work is very different from that of Byrd and Gibbons. It is less polyphonic, and approximates more nearly to modern harmonic methods. The anthem opens with an organ prelude, and the trebles then enter in two parts. A *tutti* (*p*) follows: "For thou hast been a defence to the poor." It is harmonic in style; but after ten bars, at "a refuge from the storm," a succession of entries appear in *quasi*-imitative manner. An organ interlude then introduces a section for trebles and altos, after which the full choir has an imitational passage, "And He shall vindicate His saints." Then follows a section, "Lo, this is our God," in which good contrasts are gained between boys' and men's voices; and this leads to what is the most striking phrase in the anthem, at the words "We will be glad in His salvation." It is an essentially modern conception,

* Several versions are in the British Museum, in four and five parts.

with a series of rising suspensions (though this phrase is really a contradiction in terms) driving the whole passage upward; and it seems to have expressed Bull's feelings well, for thence onwards he uses it a good deal, so that it dominates the anthem as a whole and appears to form a sort of motif of joy, which is dwelt upon until the final Amen.

I have transcribed *Fraile man, despise the treasures of this life* from the old part-books in the British Museum. It is polyphonic and full of imitation, and the parts cross in a manner remarkable even for the period at which it was written. The tenor is frequently the real bass and is written low, while the bass is at the top of the register. It is a serious and really impressive piece, which has now been published by Messrs. Curwen & Sons.

Barclay Squire gives (in Grove) a discussion on the various lists of Bull's compositions. His list of extant anthems is as follows:—

Almighty God or *O Lord my God (The Star Anthem)* for voices and viols.

Attend unto my teares for four voices and lute, and ditto for five voices (from Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations* (1614).

Fraile man, despise the treasures of this life (British Museum, Add. MSS.; 29, 372-5).

How joyful and how good (Christ Church MSS., Oxford).

Deliver me, O God (Barnard's Church Music, 1641).

Den lustelijcken Mey (Antwerp, 1629).

In the departure of the Lord (Leighton's *Teares*, 1614).

In Thee, O Lord (Barnard, 1641).

Myles B. Foster mentions also:—

Let me tread in the right path (Myriell MSS.).
O God, best Guide.
Praise we the Lord.
Preserve, most mighty God.

As stated above, he gives *O Lord my God* and *Almighty God, which by the leading* as two separate works. There was also the anthem already mentioned, *God the Father, God the Son*, written for a royal marriage.

Bull has been said to be the author of *God save the King*, and one of his pieces contains a passage which bears a certain resemblance to it, especially in rhythm.

While at Antwerp he seems to have had pleasant relations with Sweelinck (of Amsterdam) who included a canon of Bull's in his work on composition; while Bull, on the other hand, wrote a fantasia on a fugue of Sweelinck's. Altogether, Bull was an important figure in the musical world of his time; and by his spirit of enterprise and discovery anticipated the style of a hundred years later and did a good deal to help forward the development of his art.

CHAPTER XII.

Batten, Blow, Aldrich, Creyghton, Pelham Humfrey.

WITH Bull, the climax of the early period of church music was practically over, though (as we have remarked in Chapter II.) good work was still being done. We there gave a short discussion of Dering, who wrote about this time (1617) and who has been "discovered" comparatively recently by Sir Frederick Bridge.

We now come to another writer of about the same period,—Adrian Batten. Hardly anything is known of his life except his death, which occurred in 1637. Myles Foster gives the date of his birth as *circa* 1590, but this is quite conjectural. The few facts that we have are as follows. He was trained in the cathedral choir at Winchester, under the organist John Holmes. He then went to Westminster Abbey where he was appointed a vicar-choral in 1614 (in the reign of James I. and two years before Shakespeare's death), Byrd and Gibbons being both still living. Ten years later (1624), he was transferred to St. Paul's Cathedral, at that time the old structure, before the great fire and Wren's subsequent erection

of the present building. Here he held the offices of vicar-choral and organist. In 1635, in the reign of Charles I., he made a transcript of some anthem music of his old master's, to which a note is added as follows: "All these songs of Mr. John Holmes was prickt from his own pricking in the year 1635 by Adrian Batten, one of the vickers of St. Paul's in London, who some time was his scholer." In July, 1637, letters of administration "of the estate of Adrian Batten, late of St. Sepulchre's, London, deceased, were granted by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury to John Gilbert, of the City of Salisbury, clothier, with consent of Edward, John and William Batten, brothers of the deceased." So it is evident that, as stated above, his death had occurred some time earlier in that year,—i.e., still in Charles I.'s reign. Boyce speaks of him as living under Charles II., but this is a mistake.

Burney's verdict upon Batten runs: "He was a good harmonist of the old school, without adding anything to the common stock of ideas in melody or modulation with which the art was furnished long before he was born. Nor did he correct any of the errors in accent with which former times abounded." This Rimbault considers unjust, saying that "*Hear my Prayer* is, in point of construction and effect, equal to any composition of his time," — which does not exactly meet the point. He might be, and was, up to the general level of his time without being a pioneer in the matters Burney mentions. His work bears no comparison, however, with that of Byrd and Gibbons, though in the matter of accent he does approach more nearly to our practice. Still, unimportant words do frequently occupy the strong positions at the beginning of the bar or on syncopations. It should be remembered, however, that this did not

produce such false accenting in practice as appears on paper, for unbarred music had a certain flexibility; the beats were not so rigid as they tend to become according to our method; this being, in fact, the weakness of the bar system, which we have to counteract by some freedom and *rubato* to get rid of the mechanical rhythm.

Batten wrote a Morning, Communion and Evening Service in the Dorian mode as well as a large number of anthems. Boyce preserves three of these, *Hear my Prayer*, *Deliver me*, *O Lord* and *O praise the Lord*; Barnard has six; and others are in the British Museum, Ely Cathedral and the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge). Myles Foster gives a list of fifty-four.

Of these, Dr. Walker singles out for mention the first, *Hear my Prayer*, and it is this that was selected by Bantock for the series mentioned. The work is in five parts, and in that series has been transposed up a minor third (from D minor into F minor) for the convenience of modern choirs. The opening for the first eight bars is imitational in style, one might say fugal; but the fourth entry (second altos) is irregular. After these eight bars, however, the style becomes harmonic and is divided into four well-defined phrases of three bars each. The next section of eleven bars is freer in part-writing and ends with a full close on a chord of F. Then follows a central portion, "My heart is disquieted within me," in which the basses are silent and the style rather contrapuntal than harmonic, though the part-writing is simple. Three bars of solid harmony then bring us to the finest and concluding portion of the anthem, "Oh that I had wings like a dove," at first harmonic in style but changing after six bars to a more polyphonic method. The reader will wonder at the voices of

those days, when it is stated that even in this modern edition the second altos here go down to F (three leger lines below the treble stave), implying of course a D in the original. In this portion, we can feel Batten expressing a real longing of the heart for peace. The anthem has a quiet attractiveness of a meditative nature, but the closes and the half-closes (which were gradually coming into common use) break up the continuity somewhat; and it may be noted that traces of the older modal idiom have not yet disappeared, though the key system is obviously gaining ground. Walker speaks of "the pure and stately, but not as a rule specially distinguished work of Batten (*Hear my Prayer*, with its very beautiful ending, to the words 'O that I had wings like a dove' is the finest)." This is very fairly expressive of the state of the case: Batten's work is chastened and gentle, but without any very great gifts of imagination.

His short full anthem, *Deliver us, O Lord* (four parts), perhaps did most to preserve his memory among cathedral choirs. It is only twenty bars in length and entirely homophonic; but it has that sweet devotionalism that produces such an effect as it lingers among the arches of an old Gothic cathedral at the evening service. Another, *O praise the Lord* (four parts), runs to twenty-four bars. The joy is not exultant, but the restrained, almost melancholy joy of a quiet and retiring nature. This, too, is mainly homophonic; but the part-writing shows a little more freedom than that of *Deliver us, O Lord.*

On a somewhat larger scale and showing a more unmixed gladness is the anthem *Sing we merrily unto God* (four parts). This, too, opens with four bars of massive harmony; but six bars of imitation follow, which serve as a foil to the three three-bar phrases of solid harmony that succeed. From this

point onwards, the imitative element becomes more pronounced; and the ending, "And a law of the God of Jacob," is broad and dignified, with a sober elevation of spirit.

Of the remainder, we will only mention *Let my complaint come before Thee, O Lord* (D, four parts, original key C), which has much the same alternation of harmonic and imitational passages as the pieces already described; and *Lord, we beseech thee* ("A Prayer," G minor, 4-2), with its unmistakable devotional spirit, to which the same remark applies. Both are characteristic of Batten's evidently sweet and meditative nature. The sadness of the first is mixed with a certain quiet joy; and the Amen of four bars that closes the second lingers in the memory for its quiet peace.

Altogether, Batten, though not one of the great figures in the history of the art, is a distinct musical individuality of a sweet and gracious type and well deserves to be represented in a collection of church music.

II.

We now approach the second climax in English church music and have to deal on the present occasion with one of the larger figures of the period,—one who was brought into immediate relations with Purcell, the greatest man of the time. John Blow was born in 1648, at North Collingham, in Nottinghamshire, and was baptised at Newark in February, 1648-9. His birth thus practically synchronised with the establishment of the Commonwealth under Cromwell. When Charles II. was restored in 1660, the Chapel Royal, which had lapsed during the Interregnum, was restored to its old footing, and Blow

was the one of first of the new Children of the Chapel (*ætat* 11). He studied more especially under Henry Cooke, who had formerly been one of the gentlemen of the chapel, but who (during the Civil War) fought on the side of the king, received a commission, and is generally known as Captain Cooke. The boy was evidently precocious, for in 1663-4 there was published Clifford's *Divine Hymns and Anthems* which contained the words of three anthems by him (*ætat* 15-16). He seems to have been a close friend of two fellow choristers, Pelham Humfrey and William Turner; and in collaboration with them wrote the anthem *I will alway give Thanks*, with orchestral accompaniments, each contributing one movement. Humfrey was a very gifted man, more so perhaps, than Blow; but he died early, before he could show what was in him. When Blow left the Chapel Royal in consequence of the breaking of his voice, he studied under Hingeston, and Orlando Gibbons's son, Dr. Christopher Gibbons. Pepys has an entry in his diary under the date August 31st, 1667:—

"This morning came two of Captain Cooke's boys whose voices are broke and are gone from the chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy with his broken voice did sing three parts: their names were Blaew and Loggings. But notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad,—so bad it was."

In 1669 (*ætat circa* 21) Blow was appointed organist at Westminster Abbey. He seems to have attracted the notice of the King, who one day, admiring Carissimi's duet *Dite O cieli*, asked Blow if he

could equal it; whereupon Blow produced a setting of Herrick's verses, *Go, perjured man* in the *Hesperides*, "in the same key and measure." In 1673 he was appointed Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; and next year, on the death of his friend Humfrey, followed him as Master of the Children. Two years later he became one of the organists of the Chapel Royal, in succession to Christopher Gibbons; and in 1680 he either resigned or was displaced from his position as organist at Westminster Abbey to make room for Purcell, who had been Humfrey's pupil at the Chapel Royal, and probably Blow's after Humfrey's death, either there or privately. In 1685 he composed the anthem for the coronation of James II. *(God spake sometime)*, and received the honorary office of composer to the king. In 1687 he followed Wise in the office of Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's. These last offices, however, he gave up in 1693 to Jeremiah Clarke, his pupil. In 1695 Purcell died, and Blow again became organist at Westminster Abbey. In 1699 (under William and Mary) the office of composer to the Chapel Royal was created, in fulfilment of a suggestion by Archbishop Sancroft made in 1694. He had then proposed that there should be two holders of the office, Blow and Purcell. The latter, however, had died in the meantime, and Blow received the appointment, which carried a salary of forty pounds. He died on October 1st, 1708, and was buried in Westminster Abbey in the north aisle under the organ, a monument being erected to him. About contemporaneously with these events, Buxtehude (1637-1707), from whom Bach learnt much, was living and working in Germany.

In 1697, Blow wrote the anthem *I was glad when they said*, for the opening of the new St. Paul's;

and when the competition as to the new organ for this cathedral was being carried on, Draghi (organist to Queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II.) was employed to try Harris's organ, while Blow and Purcell "touched" that of Schmidt. The latter was chosen, perhaps largely owing to the skill of these two players.* Blow was married at an uncertain date. His wife—Elizabeth Braddock, daughter of the clerk of the cheque of the Chapel Royal and Master of the Choristers of Westmister Abbey—died in childbirth in 1683, leaving four children, one being a boy of great promise who died at the age of fifteen. Also at an uncertain date, but probably about 1676, Blow received the Lambeth degree of Mus.Doc. from Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury,—probably the first musical degree so bestowed. There was a statement in a manuscript anthem in the Music School at Oxford (now lost) that seemed to imply that his degree was an Oxford one; but there is no record of his having matriculated or entered at any college, and this version is probably a mistake.

Blow's compositions are very numerous and include fourteen church services, of which three are preserved by Boyce. Myles Foster gives a list of a hundred and eighteen anthems, many of which are still unprinted. Of the anthems, Boyce preserves ten. One, *I was glad*, which (as we have seen) was written for the opening of new St. Paul's, is preserved at Ely and Lichfield. There was no copy in the St. Paul's library until one was made from the Lichfield score, so that one wonders whether it was actually performed on the occasion for which it was written. In 1706, Blow published by subscription the *Amphion Anglicus*, a collection of his own songs, with

* So says one account. Bumpus, however, and Barclay Squire (Grove's Dictionary) relate this incident of the organ at the Temple Church in 1684

a portrait; and in the preface he speaks of his intention to publish in like manner his church compositions,—an intention that was never carried out. Many sacred songs, duets, &c., are printed in Playford's *Harmonia Sacra* (1688 and 1714). There are New Year's Odes for 1682, 1683, 1686-9, 1693-4 and 1700; Odes for St. Cecilia's Day, 1684, 1691 and 1700; a setting of Dryden's *Ode on Purcell's Death*, 1695; songs and catches, many of them printed by the Catch Club and other bodies; lessons for the harpsichord, &c. There is a masque, *Venus and Adonis*, which, says Dr. Walker,

"is a very interesting work...not only in its merits but in its defects. On the one hand we have charming and really distinctive music, like the *Gavott of the Graces*, or especially the final scene for Venus and Chorus...and on the other we have a certain amount of crudity. The harmony is not always convincing; apart from peculiarities of 'false relations,' there are several moments when the scheme of tonality seems to fall to pieces, and the tunes, pleasant though they are usually, are inclined to meander along anyhow... Nevertheless, the work as a whole is well worth attention."*

This remark about the tunes applies also at times to the anthems, where the melody is sometimes facile and where the continual full closes become in some cases rather wearisome.

The services preserved by Boyce are good solid work. The voices are well contrasted, and there is a good deal of imitational writing. Blow shows feeling for the words he is setting: the passage in the

* Burney gives four pages of "Dr. Blow's Crudities" (Ed. 1789, Vol. III., pp. 49-52), many of which reflect rather on the judge than on the "criminal."

first Service (A, written with two sharps in the signature) at "Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb," and also the Crucifixus, being cases in point. The tonality, too, is a little curious here and there, and there are some of the harsh "false relations" of the period. In the second Service (G) there is a canon four in two in the Jubilate; and in the following Gloria a canon four in one which is inscribed on Blow's tomb. The frequent full closes and short phrases are the result of the desire for antiphonal response; and, though rather tiresome in the study, should be judged with an eye to the conditions for which they were written. There is a striking case of rhetorical accenting by means of syncopation in the third Service (E minor), at the words "Whose kingdom shall have no end;" there are trumpet-like passages at "Trumpets and shawms;" and pictorial writing at "Floods clap their hands." There are also good harmonic effects; and altogether the services are fine sound work,—scholarly, and yet not without real feeling.

Of the anthems, we find *I was in the spirit* preserved by Boyce (C; four parts; 3-4). It is not one of Blow's best efforts. It has not the deep seriousness that such words would suggest, but rather a kind of facile optimism as of the Sunday morning cheerfulness of prosperous people coming out of church; so that one wonders whether it was written to suit the well known levity of Charles II. Otherwise, the technique is good and sound. *God is our hope and strength* is a fine work. There is some doubtful part-writing here and there, as is not uncommon; but on the whole it is broad and elevated in tone. *O God, wherefore art Thou absent?* (G minor; five parts; 4-2) is a very fine and impressive piece. The opening, with its diminished fourths, is very touching and sorrowful, and the imitational points add to the

pathos. A verse follows at "Why is Thy wrath so hot?" with good contrasts arising from the use, at first, of the upper voices only, answered by the lower only, and clinched by the whole choir, with imitations. The same style is continued, and at the close there is a resumption of the sorrowful opening. Altogether, this is a serious and noble work. *Save me, O God* (E minor; four parts; 4-2) is also really impressive. The diminished fourths, the augmented fifth harmonies, and the imitations give a really touching and poignant feeling of entreaty. The passages, "Waiting so long" and "I wept and chastened myself" are full of emotion. *The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble* (B?; four parts; 4-4), on the other hand, is rather sound Anglican stuff than deeply moving.

My God, my God, look upon me (A minor; four parts; 4-2) was the piece chosen by Professor Bantock for his edition, the time being altered to 4-4. This, too, is a fine piece of work. The imitational opening, with its crying suspensions, is full of feeling; and, throughout, the same supplicatory character is maintained. Towards the end, the imitational style is dropped; and after a moment's silence, the whole choir together have an harmonic phrase, with discords and suspensions, to the words "O Thou worship of Israel," after which the music of the opening is resumed and makes an impressive close. It is as good a specimen as could have been chosen. One might, perhaps, have preferred *O God, wherefore art Thou absent?* but this was ruled out by the scheme of this edition, which was for full anthems only.

O Lord, I have sinned is also a verse anthem and shows real feeling, though the repetitions of notes give a rather dull effect at times. *O sing unto God* is interesting as showing the characteristics that we associate especially with Purcell and later, on a larger

scale, with Handel. The indebtedness of this last to his two predecessors becomes very clear in studying their anthems. *O Lord, Thou hast searched me out* opens with an organ prelude, to which succeeds a long bass solo, followed by a bass duet, and the piece is closed by a chorus of about thirty bars (four parts). It is good work, but not so continuous as some of the other anthems, owing to the frequent full closes. This chorus also has a large number of repeated notes, which become a little trying here and there. But the anthem is serious and elevated in tone.

I beheld, and lo a great multitude (D; four parts and seven parts; 3-4) is bright and rather facile, but it has the kind of effectiveness that suits the Anglican church in its less devotional moments. This too, is a verse anthem and has some effective contrasts; but it is broken up into four-bar phrases with full closes for the antiphons, and this makes it a little tiresome at times. The Hallelujah gives a hint of the coming Handel. The portion at the words "These are they which came out of great tribulation" is a tenor solo and shows real feeling. Blow here again has recourse to his diminished fourths. The "tribulation," however, is very short (only five bars) and then the easy cheerfulness breaks in again,—as with Boswell's friend when he tried to be a philosopher. The concluding chorus, "Blessing and Glory" is in seven parts, with responsive masses of sound interspersed with solos, and characterised by the same cheerful optimism.

All the above are in Boyce. It is impossible even to mention a quarter of these hundred and eighteen anthems. They vary in quality. *Look upon mine adversity* (A; four parts; 4-4) is small in scale. It is sound writing, but is not specially interesting; and the same may be said of *Save, Lord, and hear us* (F;

four parts; 4-4). *Sing we merrily* (F; six parts; 3-4) is of much the same character as *I beheld, and lo*, but perhaps not quite so attractive. On the other hand, *Salvator Mundi* (full; D minor; 4-4) shows real feeling and imagination. It is full of poignant suspensions and is altogether one of Blow's best anthems.

On the whole, Dr. Walker's remark that "We see Blow's church music at its finest in the anthems where the words afford opportunity for pathos and deep feeling" is certainly justified. He is one of the important figures in the succession, and gives hints that we see expanded by Purcell and again by Handel. He has a real individuality of his own and has left us much fine and deeply impressive work.

III.

A man who played a worthy part in that second climax of English church music which we have now reached, and which took place shortly after the Restoration, was Henry Aldrich, who however was not a musician first and foremost but a divine who wrote for the service of the church he loved, much as Fra Angelico painted for his beloved Mother. And if Aldrich had not the genius of the Angelical painter, he at least had a sincere affection and a true talent.

Henry Aldrich was born in 1647, and was baptised at St. Margaret's, Westminster. He was educated at Westminster School under that Dr. Busby whose name has become proverbial as the type of a severe pedagogue addicted to the pleasures of the birch. Busby reigned at Westminster from 1640 till his death in 1695 and had a distinguished list of pupils, among them being Locke, Dryden, Atterbury,

and Bishop Hooper. Sixteen bishops at one time owed their training to him. Undoubtedly, he was severe; but this was in accordance with the ideas of the time, which were in the spirit of Solomon's injunction not to spare the rod unless you would spoil the child. He was honoured and beloved by his pupils and left money to found scholarships for poor boys. Altogether, his reputation has, perhaps, done him an injustice.

Aldrich, at any rate, like so many others, did well under him, and went from Westminster to Christ Church, Oxford, which became his lifelong home. He graduated as B.A. in 1666, M.A. in 1669, B.D. and D.D. in 1682; and in the same year became a canon of Christ Church and rector of Wem, in Shropshire, according to some authorities. According to others, he was appointed canon in January, 1681, and created D.D. on the 2nd of the ensuing March, or (according to Grove) in May. In 1689 he was installed Dean of Christ Church, and from 1692-4 was vice-chancellor of the university. He was also chaplain in ordinary to William III., Queen Mary and Queen Anne, and prolocutor to the Lower House of Convocation in 1702. He died on December 14th, 1710, according to Boyce and Bumpus, on January 19th, according to Grove, and was buried in the Dean's Chapel at Christ Church. His monument (which is now over the *Decani* stalls) "consists of a medallion and a curious emblem of death, a crowned skull with wings at the back." His portrait, by Sir Godfrey Kneller, hangs in the hall at Christ Church.

Aldrich was a man of wide culture and versatility. His first devotion was to his church and college and his various gifts were used for their service. His power as an architect may be judged from the Peckover quadrangle at Christ Church, the chapel of

Trinity, and All Saints, High Street. He wrote a book on logic which is still in use at Oxford, a number of tracts on theology and the classics, and was one of the editors of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion.* He maintained the choir of Christ Church at a high degree of efficiency, and formed a large musical library (including works by Palestrina and Carissimi) which he bequeathed to the college. It seems, however, that in some cases he subjected such works to "improvement" at his own august hands.

Of his church works, Boyce preserves a Morning and Evening Service in G and Arnold an Evening Service in A. There are also about fifty anthems, some twenty-three being original and the rest adaptations from the Italian. Bumpus gives a list of the former, of which two are preserved by Boyce,—viz., *Out of the Deep* and *O give thanks;* and others in the Christ Church MSS., the Ely MSS., &c. He was of a pleasant temper and was glad to unbend in congenial society. An outcome of such intercourse is his jovial catch, *Hark! the merry Christ Church Bells.* Another of similar spirit is published by Novello, *A Catch on Tobacco.* He was devoted to My Lady Nicotine, and the catch is intended to be sung by four men while smoking, so that it is arranged to give them all time for intermittent puffs. It is an ingenious and amusing *jeu d'esprit.*

The Service in G, preserved by Boyce, is good sound work. One cannot, however, ascribe to it any startling flights of genius. It is in four parts, without complication of part-writing but giving the same words (mostly) to all voices at once, so as to be easily followed by the congregation. The sense of the words is well kept in mind and altogether the work is that of an accomplished and earnest writer. The key-system is thoroughly established. In the Jubilate, at

the words "For the Lord is gracious," there is a progression very unusual for the time of its birth,—viz., a seventh (fundamental) on B, followed by another on A, the bass and treble proceeding by consecutive sevenths and the effect being good. On the word "hearts" in the Kyrie Eleison, too, there occurs a remnant of the older part-writing in the suspension A-G in the treble, while the same G is held by the alto. The service is, on the whole, a worthy and typical specimen of sound Anglican style.

Of the anthem *O give thanks*, much the same may be said in general terms, though here there is some greater interest in the part writing. The piece is in six parts, 3-2. The opening phrase of seven bars is harmonic in structure and is followed by a similar one of six bars ("And His mercy endureth for ever"), which is then repeated. An imitational section of twenty-eight bars to the words "Hallelujah, for His mercy endureth for ever," succeeds, the phrases being mostly short and fragmentary. To this we get a contrast in the closing portion of thirty-one bars, which also is imitational but broader and more continuous in style, the words being the same. The anthem, like the service just discussed, is a good specimen of the orthodox Anglican manner and is very effective in performance.

The other anthem preserved by Boyce, *Out of the Deep*, is in four parts and in Bantock's edition is transposed up a tone into A minor for the convenience of the singers. It is a really fine example, full of feeling and showing distinct traces of the modal idiom that was then passing away. This was in fact often the case when men were profoundly touched; there was, and frequently is, an instinctive reversion to a style that seems to appeal to the heart in its sorrows. The opening is an imitative passage of

sixteen bars, "Out of the deep have I called unto Thee;" after which the whole choir have an harmonic phrase of three bars which is really touching in its simplicity, "Lord, hear my voice! O Lord, hear my voice!" The next portion (*Più lento*), "O let Thine ear consider well the voice of my complaint," is not imitational, though the part-writing is independent, and it expresses well the meaning of the words. To this succeeds a fugal exposition to the text "For there is mercy with Thee;" and after some nineteen bars this merges into an elevated peroration of eight bars, which brings the whole to an impressive conclusion. This anthem is a truly fine work and a remarkable effort on the part of a man who laboured in so many fields. On the whole, Aldrich was a distinguished figure of his time and has left work behind him for which he deserves to be remembered with honour and gratitude.

IV.

We have now almost completed our survey of the English church composers; but before coming to the great figure of the Carolean period — Purcell—we must give a few words to two others; and we will take first a similar cleric-composer, Robert Creyghton, whose life and activities ran somewhat parallel with those of our last subject, Aldrich; for he, too, living and working in cloistered peace and giving his first devotion to his church, produced for her service music which has survived into later ages.

His father was Robert Creyghton, D.D., professor of Greek at Cambridge. During the Civil War and Commonwealth, the fortunes of this elder Creyghton were bound up with those of Charles II., whom he followed into exile. Later he became Dean of

Wells; and in 1670, ten years after the Restoration, Bishop of Bath and Wells. The son, our present subject, was born in 1639; and thus his youth was cast in the period of the Civil War and Commonwealth. Yet in spite of the distractions of the political situation, he seems to have pursued his studies with vigour; for in 1662, two years after Charles II.'s return, he held the Greek professorship at Cambridge, like his father before him, and here he took his degree of D.D. Aldrich, as we have seen, went to Oxford about 1663, and made that city his home; and thus these two clergyman composers were practically contemporary products of the two great universities. After twelve years at Cambridge (i.e., two years after his father's appointment as Bishop of Bath and Wells) Creyghton was appointed canon residentiary and precentor of Wells Cathedral; and here he spent the rest of his long life, which lasted through the reigns of James II., William and Mary, Anne, George I., and well into that of George II. He died in 1736, about the age of ninety-seven, according to most authorities, though Boyce says his death occurred in 1733, *ætat* ninety-three to four. During this period he gave much of his leisure to composition for the church; and several of his services and anthems are still extant in the library of Wells Cathedral. Boyce preserves one, an anthem in E♭, *I will arise*, and another (in B♭) has also been published. Tudway's Manuscript (Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 7338-9) contains two more.

The anthem *I will arise* is preserved by Boyce, and is a small piece but one that is full of pure and sweet feeling. In Bantock's edition it is transposed up a tone into F, for the convenience of modern choirs; and it is only twenty-six bars in length, of which about ten are repetition. Yet it deserves, for

its simple devotion, the place it has won in the affections of the church. Its chief structural feature is a canon between the altos and trebles, the upper part following at a bar's distance (though it anticipates its entry by a beat, with a syncopation) and at a fourth above. The lower parts are independent, and to some extent imitational, though their chief function is to support the canon. In the ninth bar, the canon is dropped for a moment, but is resumed in the tenth and carried on for three and a half bars more, to the words "No more worthy to be called thy son." In the fifteenth bar the alto returns to the phrase (and words) of the fourth, and the remainder is practically repetition.

Creyghton is not in any way a great composer, but he is worthy of one of the minor niches in the edifice of the church of which he was so devoted a son.

V.

Another writer of the period, and one of great gifts, was Pelham Humfrey, to whom we have already referred. He has real individuality and is an important figure historically. His name is thus spelt by himself, though other spellings are not uncommon. He was born in 1647, two years before the death of Charles I. and the beginning of Cromwell's rule. He seems to have been a nephew of Colonel John Humfrey, sword-bearer to Bradshaw at the trial of the king. At the Restoration in 1660, when thirteen years of age, he became one of the first children of the reconstituted Chapel Royal and studied under Captain Henry Cooke. He seems to have shown great promise; and when a second edition of Clifford's *Divine Services and Anthems* appeared in 1664, five anthems by him were included, two of which remain to us. Dur-

ing the four years of his choristership, he joined with his two fellow students, Blow and Turner, in writing an anthem, *I will alway give thanks*, commonly called *The Club Anthem*, the first part of which is by him. On the breaking of his voice, Charles II., whose notice he had attracted, sent him to Paris to study. He received for this purpose £200 in the first year (1664), £100 in 1665 and £150 in 1666, the first year having to cover outfit and travelling expenses and the last the cost of his return journey. He studied in Paris under Lully, who was at this time doing his work at the court of Louis XIV. as founder of the French school of opera, and who wrote music for some of the plays of his great contemporary and friend Molière. Lully shows the influence of Cavalli and Carissimi; but French opera grew under his influence rather out of the dance—to which the French were passionately addicted—than out of the instinct for song and absolute music, as with the Italians. It was especially through Humfrey that Lully's influence reached England, for he on his return was associated with the best musicians here and became Purcell's master; so that we find in Purcell's overtures the slow introduction which Lully introduced into the French overtures of the period.

In January, 1666-7, Humfrey was appointed (though still absent) a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, on the death of Thos. Hazard. A few months later he returned to England and took up his position at the Chapel Royal, where anthems of his were at once performed, as the following extract from Pepys's Diary will show: "November 1st, 1667, To chapel, it being All Hallows' Day, and heard a fine anthem, made by Pelham, who is come over." Pepys again mentions Humfrey by name a fortnight later in a picturesque entry, as follows: "November 15th,

1667, Home: and there I find, as I expected, Mr. Cæsar and little Pelham Humfrey, lately returned from France, and is an absolute Monsieur, as full of form and confidence and vanity, and disparages everything and everybody's skill but his own. But to hear how he laughs at all the King's music here, as Blagrave and others, that they cannot keep time or tune nor understand anything; and at Grebus, the Frenchman, the King's master of music, how he understands nothing, nor can play on any instrument, and so cannot compose: and that he will give him a lift out of his place; and that he and the King are mighty great."

In July, 1672, on the death of his first teacher, Captain Cooke, Humfrey was appointed Master of the Children, among the pupils thus transferred to him being Purcell. In the following month (August, 1672), he was appointed Composer in Ordinary for the Violins to His Majesty, an office which he seems to have shared with Thomas Purcell, not, of course, his pupil, whose name was Henry. About this time, too, Humfrey married, his wife being notable for her beauty. Two years later, at the age of twenty-seven, he died at Windsor (July 14th, 1674) and was buried on the 17th in the cloisters at Westminster Abbey, "near the south-east door."

Humfrey wrote two Birthday Odes for Charles II.: *Smile, smile again* and *When from his throne*; besides a New Year's Day ode: *See, mighty Sir! Choice Ayres, Songs and Dialogues* (1678-84) contains several of his songs; and Grove tells us that "in the rare, separately-paged sheet inserted in some copies of that publication, containing *The Ariel's Songs in the play called The Tempest* (Dryden's and Davenant's alteration produced in 1670) his setting of *Where the bee sucks* is to be found." Perhaps

his best known song is *I pass all my hours in a shady old grove.* It is sometimes called *The Phœnix* and is printed under that title in Jackson's *English Melodies.* The rhythm halts somewhat owing to the frequent crotchet following a quaver at the end of the bar. And the two bars of C bass, with dotted minims in both bass and melody, are a little unfortunate. Yet the song has a distinct charm of its own. Humfrey left only the bass and melody, all beyond these being filled in by various editors. It is given in Bantock's collection *One Hundred Songs of England* (Oliver Ditson Co.), the original parts being there unaltered. Words and music appear in Playford's *Choice Songs* and the words are stated, in an old copy, to be by Charles II.: an ascription which seemed to Horace Walpole probable enough. The old copy in question adds: "And set by Mr. Pelham Humfrey, Master of the Children of his Chapel." Another song, also given by Bantock, is *Oh, the sad day!* which is preserved in the British Museum (Add. MSS., 29,396). The bass and voice-part only are given in this case also. Here and there this bass shows signs of uncertainty in the way that it hovers about the D; but on the whole, the song is remarkable for the period and shows genuine feeling, notably in bars 1-4, and at the diminished fourth to the words "those dear eyes." Five songs are included in J. S. Smith's *Musica Antiqua*, among them *Wherever I am and whatever I do*, from Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* (1672). Humfrey was a fine lutenist, and it is to be regretted that we have none of his work for the instrument remaining to us. He is also said to have written words for many of the songs published in his day.

Coming now to church music, we find a service in E minor preserved by Tudway (Brit. Mus., Harleian MSS.). We have also three sacred songs as well as

a Dialogue, written in collaboration with Blow, and all of these four are given in *Harmonia Sacra* (1714: Book II.). Myles Foster gives a list of twenty-five anthems, seven of which are printed by Boyce and six published by Novello. Another, *Lord, teach us to number our days*, is published in *The Cathedral Magazine* (Vol. II.). Humfrey's work does not show the broad design and continuity of some of the older writers. It is not woven in a continuous web, as is that of Gibbons, but is laid out in sections; and his strength lies in the lyrical feeling and expressiveness with which he invests these sections. He is not, on the whole, contrapuntal, though there are points of imitation from time to time: he rather foreshadows the approaching homophonic style. He has been reproached for using dance rhythms,—a reproach perhaps born of the knowledge of his Paris training. The charge is an exaggerated one. Still, in *Rejoice in the Lord* (preserved by Boyce), for example, there is just enough of these "secular rhythms to which Charles II. could beat time with his feet," as Dr. Walker more guardedly puts it, to give the charge some air of plausibility. This anthem ($B^{\flat}$; 3-4) is written for counter-tenor, first tenor, second tenor and bass, and has an attractiveness which makes it easy to understand Charles's partiality for Humfrey. These clearly defined rhythms would be more intelligible to him than the polyphonic web of the Elizabethans. Sixteen bars of chorus open the anthem. A verse for tenor follows, after which the chorus is repeated. A verse for quartet comes next; then an organ interlude; then the opening chorus again, but this time sung by soloists; and finally comes a chorus varying between four-four and three-four.

Humfrey's most characteristic work, however, is always full of feeling, and most of his anthems are in

minor keys. The opening of *Like as the hart* (Boyce, III.) is quoted by Dr. Walker as an example of Humfrey at his best, and the choice is a reasonable one. It opens (F minor; 4-4) with four bars of prelude, leading to a verse for tenor and bass which is sincere and touching. A verse for counter-tenor, tenor and bass, "My soul is athirst for God," follows and has a good deal of the character of the recitative, which Humfrey uses a great deal and in introducing which he was a considerable influence. Eight bars of chorus, S.A.T.B., follow, and then a recit. for tenor, succeeded by one for bass, "Why art thou so full of heaviness?" Finally comes a quartet verse, "O put thy trust in God," which is repeated by chorus. This opens imitationally and brings the piece to an elevated close.

Hear, O Heavens (C minor; 4-4) is another touching specimen. It opens with a verse for counter-tenor and tenor, to which is added with beautiful effect a treble at the chorus "They have provoked the Holy One of Israel." The verse just mentioned is recit-like in style, as is that which now follows, "Wash ye, make you clean" (counter-tenor, tenor and bass). This is succeeded by a chorus similar to the first, "Though your sins be as scarlet." The anthem would depend much on a good organ-part for its effect, for Humfrey of course left only a figured bass; but, this granted, it should be really impressive.

Another example which is full of feeling is *Have mercy upon me, O Lord* (Boyce II.). This also is mostly solo work; and a noticeable point is that it contains a chord of the augmented sixth, unprepared, years before the birth of Bach and Handel.

Thou art my King (Boyce III.; C minor; 3-4) is less impressive, though one may mention an interesting passage giving pictorial effect to the words, "will

we tread them under," where the part-writing defies the orthodox rules. This anthem is mostly for *soli* (counter-tenor, first tenor, second tenor and bass), and the organ interludes are a feature. Another, on about the same level, is *Haste Thee, O God* (Boyce III.; C minor; 3-4), which also is mostly solo work. It opens with a tuneful organ prelude of four bars, which sets the character of the whole.

Quite one of the most impressive is *O Lord my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?* (Boyce II.; F minor; 4-4; four parts, three *soli*), a really touching and beautiful work. Four bars of organ prelude are followed by a bass solo, which has a diminished fifth with appoggiatura and then a diminished fourth, both melodic, and used with pathetic effect at the words "forsaken me." Counter-tenor and tenor *soli* follow with "I am poured out like water," the parts being imitational and beautifully interwoven. A chorus in 3-2 time and harmonic in style succeeds, its expressiveness being increased by Humfrey's favourite diminished fourth and a diminished seventh, both melodic. A recit. for bass follows, and then one for counter-tenor and tenor, "They pierced my hands and feet." At "They cast lots upon my vesture," we have another chord of the augmented sixth; and the succeeding 3-2 portion, "Be not far from me," has poignant suspensions of semitones. After this, the first chorus is usually repeated, and is followed by six additional bars (4-4) which form a grave close. The anthem is a really fine and pathetic piece of work.

Humfrey's reputation has suffered through his early death, since the fruit of his youthful genius—which was cropped at the age of twenty-seven—is compared, sometimes to his disadvantage, with that of Blow and others, who had a lifetime of

experience in which to ripen and mature. In essential musical quality, though not perhaps in largeness of design, he was probably Blow's superior. He was a man of great gifts who has been unduly neglected for writers of more pretentions but less real genius; and it is to be hoped that he will come in for a share in the present revival of interest in our older musical literature.

CHAPTER XIII

Henry Purcell.

WE now, in coming to Purcell, approach the end of our present survey of English church music. Purcell represents the climax of the second (or Carolingian) period, though he lived into the reign of William and Mary. He is also generally regarded as our greatest English musician, and that verdict may possibly stand; though one or two of the Elizabethans will find their advocates. I do not think he represents the central and typically English spirit so well as Byrd or some of the madrigal writers or some of the ballad writers. There is a delicacy and charm about such pieces as Wilbye's *Flora gave me fairest flowers*, or Gibbons's *Dainty fine bird*, or Stevens's *Sigh no more, ladies*, which corresponds to the fineness of the specifically English school of water-colour painting and the delight of our poets in Nature, and which is analogous to the Shakespeare

and the Herrick lyric. This quality we do not find in Purcell, with his somewhat heavier and almost Handelian manner. They are of our subtler atmospheric type,—he is of the more imposing Continental type; and we see the discrepancy in his setting of *Full fathom five*. He is in fact, as has often been pointed out, the forerunner of Handel; and some of his anthems are almost miniature Handel oratorios. It seems clear that Handel found and studied some of Purcell's work at Westminster Abbey; and even in noting this we have not traced the stream to its source, for we find in the work of Blow, and of Pelham Humfrey, who was for a time Purcell's master, the origin of much that appeared, fuller and stronger, in the more illustrious pupil.

Purcell was born about 1658, probably in Old Pye Street, Westminster, and entered the Chapel Royal about 1665-6, studying at first under Captain Henry Cooke, then Master of the Children. On Cooke's death in 1672, he continued under Pelham Humfrey, as already stated;* and on Humfrey's death in 1674 probably became a pupil of Blow, either at the Chapel or privately, since it is stated on Blow's monument that he was "master to the famous H. Purcell."

In 1675 the youth received a commission from Josias Priest, a theatrical dancing-master who kept also a boarding-school for girls in Leicester Fields, to write music for an opera, *Dido and Æneas*, by Nahum Tate. This was privately performed at the school and led to further and public engagements. Thus in 1676 came the music for Dryden's *Aurungzebe*, for Shadwell's *Epsom Wells*, part of that for the same author's *The Libertine*, and also a song which appeared in Book I of Playford's *Choice Ayres, Songs*

* C.f. also Cap. XII.

and Dialogues. In 1677 he wrote music for Mrs. Behn's *Abdelazar* and an *Elegy* for Mathew Locke, which was published in Book II. of the *Choice Ayres* (1679). In 1678 he composed music for Shadwell's version of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* and in 1680 came music for Lee's *Theodosius* and D'Urfey's *The Virtuous Wife.*

In this year (1680) he was appointed organist of Westminster Abbey in succession to—and many say at the suggestion of—his old master Blow, who resumed the office on Purcell's death. Upon receiving this appointment, Purcell relinquished for a time his connection with the theatres. In July, 1682, he received, in addition, the post of organist at the Chapel Royal. His connection with these churches led to his writing a large quantity of church music, much of which is very fine and some magnificent. In 1683 he published a set of twelve *Sonnatas of III. parts, two Viollins and Basse to the Organ or Harpsichord.* The book contained also his portrait at the age of twenty-four. Purcell says, in the preface, that "he has faithfully endeavoured a just imitation of the most famed Italian masters, principally to bring the seriousness and gravity of that sort of musick into vogue and reputation among our countrymen, whose humour 'tis time should now begin to loath the levity and balladry of our neighbours." The *Sonnatas* are fine work; and we see from this how earnestly he strove to enlarge and purify his art, making, in fact, the same charges against his contemporaries that continue to be levelled at the public in our own days. Each specimen consists of an Adagio, a Canzone (fugue), a Slow movement and an Air. This subject is again referred to in Chapter XX. During these few years Purcell had also produced various odes on public events, welcomes for royal personages,

&c., and continued to do so throughout his life: thus in 1685 he wrote an ode, *Why are all the muses mute?* for the accession of James II., and for the Coronation composed the two anthems, *I was glad* and *My heart is inditing*. For this occasion, too, he had to superintend the erection and removal of a special organ in the Abbey. Another interesting point connected with organs at this period, mentioned by Sir Henry Wood in his lecture on Bach, is that in 1685 "Father Smith and Renatus Harris were competing for the building of the Temple Church organ." (*C.f.* also note, p. 163.)

In 1686 came Purcell's music for the revival of Dryden's *Tyrannic Love*. In 1688 he wrote music for the songs in D'Urfey's *A Fool's Preferment*; and also the anthem for bass solo and chorus, *The Lord is King*. In 1689 a dispute arose between the Abbey authorities and Purcell. He had admitted certain people to the organ-loft to see the Coronation of William and Mary, considering this as his perquisite. The Chapter, however, demanded the money paid in fees. How the matter ended is not known. In 1690 he wrote the music for Shadwell's version of *The Tempest*, and also that for Betterton's remodelling of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Prophetess; or, the History of Dioclesian*. The score was published by subscription in 1691, with a prefatory note by the composer.

In this year (1691), Purcell's chief dramatic work, *King Arthur* (written in collaboration with Dryden), was produced with great success. About a dozen of the songs were published shortly after his death in *Orpheus Britannicus*, a collection of many of his airs issued by his widow. Also in 1691 came music to three other plays: Elkanah Settle's *Distressed Innocence*, *The Gordian Knot Untyed*, and Southerne's *Sir*

Anthony Love. In 1692, Purcell wrote the music for *The Indian Queen* (Howard and Dryden), which contains the celebrated piece *Ye Twice Ten Hundred Deities* besides songs for Dryden's *Indian Emperor*, for *Cleomene*, *The Wives' Excuse* (Southerne), *The Marriage-hater Matched*, and music for Act III. of *Œdipus* (Dryden and Lee). This year saw also the production of his opera, *The Fairy Queen* (adapted from "A Midsummer Night's Dream"), which was a distinct success. He continued to pour out a profusion of works, even merely to mention all of which is impossible.

In 1694 came the music for Parts I. and II. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote* and a Te Deum and Jubilate for St. Cecilia's Day. Queen Mary died on December 26th of this year (1694), and for her funeral Purcell set the passage from the Burial Service, *Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts.* This so impressed Croft that when he wrote his Burial Service he left this portion unset, adopting Purcell's music.

In 1695 came, among other things, the music to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bonduca* and Part III. of D'Urfey's *Don Quixote.* In the same year (November 21st), Purcell died at home in Dean's Yard, Westminster, probably of consumption. On the 26th, he was buried in the Abbey, under the organ, on the north side, where a monument was erected to his memory.

It is obviously impossible, within the limits at our command, to discuss such a mass of work or a tithe of it. In his short life of thirty-seven years, Purcell (like Mozart and Schubert) poured forth a stream of song of all types,—lyrics, operas, church music and chamber music. He belonged to their class; and if he hardly rises to their level, it must not be forgotten that he died when Bach was ten years old and thus

entered into a correspondingly smaller inheritance of accumulated experience. His scholarship was fine; counterpoint, canon and fugue of the contemporary type were his servants, not his masters; and his harmony is at times both daring and extremely touching.

Purcell's dramatic gift is remarkable, and *Dido and Æneas* (written when he was about nineteen) contains some very striking work. The Overture is written for strings, and opens with an *adagio* which is harmonically interesting even now, after which a quicker movement of imitational character follows. The choral writing is of course simple. Dido's first song, on a ground-bass, is interesting; but her closing one, on the ground used later by Bach for the Crucifixus of the B minor Mass, is really an extraordinary piece of work and deeply touching. The opera was first published by the Musical Antiquarian Society, about 1840, under Macfarren's editorship. The society published also *Bonduca* and *King Arthur*. The latter is of peculiar construction, the singing parts being distinct from the ordinary characters of the drama. Dryden consulted Purcell as to the versification, &c. The Overture (strings) consists of only fifty-one bars, of which twenty are in the broad style of the slow introductions to the French overtures. As just stated, this is also the case with the Overture to *Dido and Æneas*; and when it is remembered that Purcell's master, Pelham Humfrey, studied under Lully, the historical sequence is easily understood. The second part is quicker and of a fugal character, with a trumpet-like subject typifying the chivalry of the story; the fugal texture, however becomes looser as the piece proceeds. A different overture is given in Boosey's edition, prepared for the Birmingham Festival of 1897. The opening scene is vigorous and the work as a whole shows considerable dramatic

power. One noticeable point is the Frost Scene, in which the Cold Genius has a peculiar wavering tone which was adopted by Jeremiah Clarke in his anthem *I will love Thee, O Lord*, at a passage of diminished sevenths to the words "The earth trembled." On the other operas we cannot even touch.

Passing now to the church music, we find a Service in B flat preserved by Boyce. This is good sound work; but Purcell, like most others, treats each clause as a separate thing,—there is no organic unity. The writing is largely homophonic, but frequently becomes more polyphonic and there are several ingenious canons which are good in effect: (1) the Gloria in the Benedictus, two in one, in octaves, by inversion; (2) at "Ascended into Heaven," four in one; (3) the Gloria of the Nunc Dimittis, four in two. The Magnificat is fine work and a very ingenious canon (4) occurs at "He hath showed strength," &c. There are three parts, one following at a fifth, the other at the octave, by augmentation. The "O omnia opera" is good and there is an excellent canon (5) at the Gloria. We find in this work the barring and word-accentuation more consonant with modern ideas than in most contemporary or earlier writers.

Boyce has preserved seven anthems, and Myles Foster gives a list of a hundred and seven altogether, of which the greater part are published by Novello. *O sing unto the Lord* is instinct with a fine jubilation. There is an instrumental introduction, and then, after a bass solo of six bars, the chorus enters in 3-2 time with a fugal Hallelujah. The solo again speaks and is again followed by cries of Hallelujah! Another fugal portion follows (verse: "Sing unto the Lord") this also being good sound work. A bass solo, "Declare His honour unto the heathen," succeeds and

is crowned by the chorus "Glory and worship are before Him" in broad harmonic masses with antiphonal responses for the instruments. A verse (3-2), "The Lord is great," then leads to a portion, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness," in which chorus and solos are well contrasted. Very fine, too, is the succeeding section, a bass solo with choral ejaculations, "The Lord is King," &c. The chorus then assumes the lead and, rising to a full utterance, enters upon the final portion,—a fugal Alleluia in 3-2 which has a clear bell-like swing and gladness. The subject is used both in direct and inverse movement; and this section, which is very fine both in spirit and workmanship, brings the anthem to a noble conclusion.

Some idea may be gathered from the above of the scope and manner of Purcell's anthems. *O give thanks* (preserved by Boyce) is, as I have remarked, almost a Handel oratorio in little; but this may be said of many others. We have here the same broad rhythmical swing in 3-2 time contrasted with the long semiquaver passages, and the contrasts of contrapuntal and harmonic effects; and the solos are skilfully used to increase the variety. This anthem contains one specially impressive portion at "Remember me, O Lord," with its chromatic imitational passages; one could wish this longer. In the anthem *Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem* (found at Buckingham Palace), after a long introduction, mostly in 3-2 time, the chorus enters in massive harmony. A fugue with two subjects follows and is a fine piece of work. Then comes a quieter and tenderer portion in 3-2, to which the vigorous "Be thou exalted," which succeeds (4-4), forms a good contrast. A fugal passage follows and leads into the final Alleluia, which ends with a short fugue. *Be merciful unto me* (verse anthem for three

solos and chorus) is perhaps not quite so favourable a specimen; one might look for deeper feeling than this evidences, though the technique is good. We find this deeper feeling in the anthem *O God, Thou art my God* (preserved by Boyce) at the passage "my soul thirsteth for Thee," with its grave tones of the lower voices and its suspensions. This, too, is a good anthem, though comparatively slight. *O God, Thou hast cast us out* (full; six parts), preserved by Boyce, is a noble specimen, and full of serious and elevated feeling. *My Beloved spake* is from the *Song of Songs* and is on a larger scale. There is much contrast between the choral, solo and instrumental portions, and the anthem is a fine one. *Thy word is a lanthorn* (C; 3-4; Boyce; three solos and chorus) is simpler and slighter, but is quite an attractive piece and good in technique. Another elevated specimen is the Latin five-part Psalm, *Jehovah, quam multi sunt hostes*, published by the Bach Choir. This is a noble and impressive piece of writing—fine in workmanship, in its contrasts and in general feeling.

O Lord God of Hosts (full; eight parts) is preserved by Boyce and is a truly noble work. The opening is broad and elevated eight-part writing, the subject being worked by direct and inverse movement. The next portion, "Thou feedest them with the bread of tears," is full of feeling, with its harmonic changes, suspensions and its contrast between the grave and upper voices. But all pale before the next and middle section (B♭ minor; 3-4), which is truly a marvel. No one, surely, can hear this deeply touching piece, "Turn us, turn us again, O God," without profound emotion. Both harmonically and polyphonically it is wholly admirable, and is worthy of Bach or any other composer: it shows depths in Purcell of which one does not always find evidence elsewhere. This evid-

ently comes from the heart, and *cor ad cor loquitur*. The following chorus is a fine piece of polyphony, and brings the anthem to a noble close. This also is included in Bantock's edition.

Two additional ones may be mentioned; *Behold, I bring you glad tidings* (C; 4-4; Boyce), not perhaps among Purcell's best work, and *They that go down to the sea in ships* (D; 4-4; Boyce), which opens with a long and very Handelian bass solo. At the words "So when they cry" comes a smoother duet for counter-tenor and bass; but at "He maketh the storm" the runs begin again. The character of the piece may be gathered from these remarks. It is one of those works which suggest that Purcell's reputation has arisen from his likeness to Handel, who was for so long regarded in England as the supreme master. This is not fair to Purcell, who was a distinct individuality, and who, in his short life, did so much that one wonders what he would have achieved had his time been longer. His was certainly the most vivid spirit of his period; he was its finest flower, and after him there set in a decline from which we have not yet wholly recovered.

CHAPTER XIV.

Croft; the Two Wesleys.

THE crest of the second wave of English church music was reached with Purcell; and thenceforward the descent into the trough of professionalism was rapid. One of the most distinguished of Purcell's immediate successors was William Croft, whose work shows the characteristics of his period. It is free from the blemishes of earlier times; but, unfortunately, it is free also from their saving grace,—real imagination. The workmanship is good and even; but one yearns for real ideas, which come rather as *raræ aves*, as if they were— unlike Wordsworth's *Phantom of Delight*—

> Creatures [far] too bright and good
> For human nature's daily food.

Still, it is something to maintain a level of sound conscientious work; and this Croft did. Profound emotion he cannot give us: the heights and depths of the human heart are beyond him. But his work has proved very acceptable to the Anglican school both of art and of thought. It is comparatively simple in structure, largely homophonic and broken up into sections in a way that precludes the larger sweeps of design; and the frequent cadences and full closes interfere with the continuity of thought. But when all is said, it is earnest and devotional music; analogous to the work of a school of clergy as opposed to that of the creative prophet.

Croft was born in 1677 or 1678 at Nether Eatington, Warwickshire, and received his education as a chorister at the Chapel Royal as a pupil of Blow. On the erection of an organ at St. Anne's, Soho, he was appointed the first organist at that church,—a fact in which we may, perhaps, see the origin of his celebrated hymn tune *St. Anne's*. In July, 1700, he was sworn as Gentleman Extraordinary of the Chapel Royal. On Piggott's death in May, 1704, he and Jeremiah Clarke were appointed joint organists; and on Clarke's tragic death in 1707*, he retained the office alone. On his master Blow's death in 1708 he succeeded him as Master of the Children and Composer to the Chapel Royal and as organist at Westminster Abbey. It was in discharge of his functions at the Chapel Royal that the bulk of his anthems were written. In 1710 Handel came to England, which was thenceforth almost continuously his home; so that during the remainder of Croft's life he would probably have intercourse with the great Saxon. In 1711 he resigned the organistship at St. Anne's, Soho, and in 1712 he edited (in connection with the Chapel

* C.f. Cap. II.

Royal) a collection of anthem words to which he prefixed a short history of English church music. In July, 1713, he took his degree as Mus.Doc. at Oxford, his "exercise" being two odes—one to English and one to Latin words—celebrating the Peace of Utrecht, and subsequently published as *Musicus Apparatus Academicus*. In 1715 he was appointed to teach the "children of the chapel" reading, writing and arithmetic in addition to their musical instruction, at an additional salary of eighty pounds per annum. The year 1724 was an important period in Croft's life, as in that year were published the two volumes of *Musica Sacra*, being a collection of thirty of his anthems together with the Burial Service, which (he says in the Preface) was the first church music so printed in score from plates. He died in August, 1727, and was buried in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, where his monument may be seen. His life is thus synchronous with the full activity of Bach and Handel.

Myles Foster gives a list of ninety-eight anthems by Croft, including the thirty in *Musica Sacra* and four preserved by Boyce. In addition to these there are several smaller works, notably the three fine hymn tunes *Hanover*, *St. Anne's*, and *St. Matthew;* some songs, some sonatas for violin, flute, &c.; and (belonging to his earlier years) some theatrical pieces,—*Overture and Act Tunes for Courtship à la Mode* (1700), *The Funeral* (1702), *The Twin Rivals* (1703) and *The Lying Lover* (1704). It is, of course, impossible to discuss any large proportion of so great a legacy of work; so we must content ourselves with examining a few typical specimens.

Out of the deep (verse; B minor) is No. 5 of the thirty selected anthems published by Croft; and, though without the higher imagination, is serious devotional

work. It opens with a bass solo, at first in 4-4 time, but soon changing (a noticeable way of Croft's) to 3-2. A bass and tenor duet follows, in which the same change is made after seven bars. In the succeeding tenor solo, "I look for the Lord: my soul doth wait for Him," Croft attempts to suggest the waiting by a somewhat monotonous figure of accompaniment on a ground-bass. This "ground," however, is not handled with much resource, and comes to a full close at the end of each repetition. Next comes a counter-tenor recitative, "My soul fleeth unto the Lord," in which we have twice a long passage of demi-semiquavers on the word "fleeth." This leads into a duet for counter-tenor and bass; and this brings us to the final twenty-four bars of chorus, which opens harmonically, though there are some real part-writing and imitations later. From this outline, a general idea of Croft's usual scheme may be gathered.

No. 6, *O Lord, Thou hast searched me out* (verse; A), is, on the whole, on a higher level in essential musical quality, though the opening is rather trite, with a certain easy optimism. The bass solo that follows (A minor; 3-2), "Thou art about my path," shows more feeling. This leads into an air for counter-tenor, which somewhat suggests the idiom of Handel, who it will be remembered was now living and working in London. The resemblance is more especially to portions of *Acis and Galatea*,—"The Monster Polypheme" and "The flocks shall leave the mountains."

No. 8, *O, Lord, rebuke me not* (G minor, six parts), consists of two choruses separated by a short verse of nineteen bars, having Croft's favourite change to 3-2 time at the sixth bar. Both choruses open fugally and are mainly contrapuntal, though without the logic

of the true fugue. The tone is grave and sincere.

In No. 9, *We will wait for the loving kindness* (E minor; 2-2), a three-part verse in 3-2 at the words "For this is our God" is rather square in effect owing to its two-bar, or four-bar phrases, cut up by full closes. Four bars in 2-2 succeed; and then these two portions are repeated by chorus, the design being somewhat small and tentative in conception.

The chief thing that strikes one about No. 10, *I will sing unto the Lord* (B minor; 3-2), is that, like the traditional Briton, Croft takes his joy sadly. In this respect, he may perhaps claim a national significance. One rather regrets, too, though for a different reason, the counter tenor solo, "As for the sinners, they shall be consumed out of the earth." We accept the psalmist's exultation in the sufferings of wrongdoers as a relic of early psychology; but destruction is not cleansing suffering; and Croft, choosing his own words, might (one would think) have been less delighted at the *consuming* of an erring brother.

In connection with No. 11, *Praise the Lord, O my soul*, I quote a remark of Dr. Walker's in his *History of Music in England*: "Occasionally he spoils what would otherwise be very fine works by unfortunate reminiscences of the perfunctory concluding Hallelujahs of the earlier generation, as in *Praise the Lord, O my soul*, or by bald strings of consecutive thirds or sixths, as in *God is gone up with a merry noise*," &c. These words are just. The Hallelujah in this anthem is almost paltry—scarcely above the level of a choir-boy's imagination—though the workmanship is distressingly respectable.

One of the best in the collection is No. 15, *Rejoice in the Lord* (E flat; originally written with orchestral accompaniments), which is long and elaborate and very effective in the Anglican manner. The

bass solo, "Sing unto the Lord," and the following chorus, "Sing praises," are linked together by the same type of accompaniment with very good effect; and the final chorus is broad and elevated in style.

The Burial Service (G minor) is almost entirely harmonic; and this extreme simplicity is perhaps best in the circumstances. One does not want to be troubled with artifice or art at such a time. And yet art need not necessarily be intrusive and may make a deeper appeal if used with the sincerity and spontaneity of genius. Croft himself, in fact, has used independently moving parts in the Amen without any suspicion of artificiality. Still, the music though not equal to Morley's or Purcell's, as Dr. Walker truly remarks, is really touching and has affected thousands of sorrowing hearts by its simple pathos. One verse, "Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts," is adopted bodily from Purcell, Croft being so much affected by it that he felt unable to attempt another setting.

Boyce has four of Croft's anthems in his collection: two verse, *O praise the Lord, all ye heathen* and *Give the king Thy judgments;* and two full, *God is gone up with a merry noise*, already mentioned, and *Put me not to rebuke.* This last is the one chosen by Professor Bantock for his edition; and it shows Croft's powers in a very favourable light, being contrapuntal in style and grave and elevated in feeling. It is in C minor, 4-2, changed in the edition named to 4-4. It opens fugally, though the exposition is not strict, and it is imitative throughout; the correctness, however, does not in this case mean dulness, for there is unmistakable emotion underlying the whole. In bar 15, we have a passage in sixths that leads to a new figure in bar 16, which becomes the basis of a fresh and touching imitational passage, "Neither

chasten me in Thy heavy displeasure." Another imitational passage follows and the section ends more homophonically. The middle portion, in F minor, is here marked *meno mosso*, a suggestion which may well be followed, and is for three *soli*, a fact which seems to have led to a slip in Myles B. Foster's list, where the anthem is marked as "in three voices." In the original, the three *soli* are counter-tenor, tenor and bass. In this edition, the counter-tenor is replaced by alto. The writing here is imitative and the workmanship fine, while the feeling of the words,

> For Thine arrows stick fast in me
> And Thy hand presseth me sore,

is very touchingly expressed. The last chorus (*tempo primo*; C minor) is fugal in character and the exposition is regular. This merges into imitational passages of less strictness, which carry on the movement to an impressive close.

Altogether, Croft (if not exactly possessing what one means by genius) was a good sound musician of real talent and of a grave and devotional cast of thought. If he never climbed the mountain peaks, he never descended into the abysses: he maintained a high level and showed at times real feeling. He certainly deserves his reputation as a worthy member of the artistic school of his time.

II.

With the two Wesleys we close this portion of our subject. It will perhaps be remembered that the latest date we have reached so far is 1727, in which year Purcell's successor, Croft, died. The eighteenth century has become proverbial as a period of barrenness in the higher poetic qualities, and this dearth was manifest also in the kindred domain of music. The case has been somewhat overstated; but, broadly speaking, it represents a fact. The Queen Anne period (1702-14) has its merits in literature, though distinctly poetic quality is not among its strong points. Pope (1688-1744) was not devoid of a vein of real poetry, though his smooth antithetical couplets somewhat conceal it. His contemporary, Swift (1667-1745), has notable qualities of style. And Steele, "the Father of the Queen Anne essay," was intensely human and in many ways superior to his more elegant coadjutor, Addison (1672-1719). Later on in the century Gray's (1716-71) exquisite though slender rivulet watered a somewhat thirsty land. And the group of the later portion of the century—Johnson (1709-84), Gibbon (1737-94), and the rest—showed that the instinct for literature was not dead, though poetry suffered something of an eclipse. The work of Goldsmith, and of Johnson's antagonist, Macpherson, the collector of Ossianic poems, indicated that the eclipse was passing away; and in 1770, with Wordsworth's birth, we may say that "the return to nature" is really coming into sight.

Music suffered the same kind of depression; and in her case it lasted longer, for the revival did not begin till far into the nineteenth century. Handel (1685-1759) came to London in 1710, and thence-

forth lived and worked almost entirely in England, with results that were not altogether to the good. His influence prevailed here, in fact, till it to some extent gave place to the Mendelssohn cult. This cult has, in fact, been in many ways detrimental to English music. Apart from the somewhat superficial character of much of Mendelssohn's music, which made its appeal to the popular taste of the average man, the technique of the oratorios was in some ways a fatal influence, and injured our art for a century. Our older native writers thought horizontally; the harmonic effect was the result (sectionally speaking) of the polyphony. Mendelssohn continually thought perpendicularly in solid blocks of harmony, changing with the bar, or half-bar; and owing to his popularity this vicious method has infected our subsequent writers; we are only now getting free of it. Harmonic masses can be used with good effect to contrast with polyphony: but as the fundamental basis of a work the "hymn tune" style is not exhilarating. Mendelssohn has left us some work of real genius, and is often unduly depreciated: in the matters named, however, his influence was not a healthy one. In the early and middle parts of the eighteenth century, Dr. Boyce (1710-79), who was contemporary with Avison (1710-70, *C.f.* Cap. XX), did good work, and made the collection of anthems to which we are indebted for so many of the pieces we have reviewed. He composed also himself, though his gifts in this line were not of the first order. The land of music, in fact, was covered with a series of low sand-hills, such names as Battishill (1738-1801), and Burney (1726-1814), being those of eminences.

Towards the middle of this comparatively arid century came a great spiritual outburst of which the principal channel was John Wesley (1703-91), the

great preacher and founder of Methodism. "During the fifty years of his unparalleled apostolate" [beginning about 1740, and covering, therefore, the Jacobite rising of 1745] "he travelled 250,000 miles and preached 40,000 sermons..... England has never seen anything like his open-air work. During his itinerary of nearly half-a-century, 10,000, 20,000, or even 30,000 people would come together and wait patiently for hours until the great evangelist appeared on horseback upon the scene." He was ably seconded by his brother Charles (1707-88), who, being of a more retiring nature, expressed himself more fully in his writings. He was the author of a large number of hymns, among them being the celebrated *Jesu, lover of my soul*. He was the father of two musical prodigies, Charles, whose powers, as is not uncommon with prodigies, developed no further after childhood; and Samuel, our present subject. His parentage should be borne in mind as it throws some light upon his genius.

Samuel Wesley was born in 1766, six years after the accession of George III., so that his work partly coincides with that of the Gibbon-Johnson literary group. It may help us to appreciate the relation of things if we remember that Mozart was now ten years old and that four years later Beethoven was born. The child is said to have played tunes on the harpsichord at the age of three; and before he was five taught himself to read from a copy of Handel's "Samson." He learned to play from notes when about six or seven, and about the same time began an oratorio, *Ruth*, which he finished at the age of eight and presented to Boyce, his elder brother Charles's teacher. Boyce's letter of acknowledgment runs as follows:—

"Dr. Boyce presents his compliments and thanks to his very ingenious brother-composer, Mr. Samuel Wesley, and is very much pleased and obliged by the possession of the oratorio of *Ruth*, which he shall preserve with the utmost care as the most curious product of his musical library."

Charles Wesley was a friend of Dr. Johnson, with whom also the boys came in contact. Samuel learned to play the violin and the organ, thenceforward his chief instrument; went through a prodigy's career; and in 1777 (*ætat* 11), published *Eight Lessons for the Harpsichord*. He became a good classical scholar and attained a considerable reputation as an organist and pianist: but in 1787 (*ætat* 21) an accident befel him which affected his whole life. While passing along Snow Hill one night, he fell into the foundations of a new building, injuring his skull and lying unconscious till daylight. He refused to undergo trepanning: the wound was allowed to heal; and it seems that some pressure was caused upon the brain which for long periods incapacitated him from his work. For seven years he did practically nothing, but then recovered for a time and plunged into his musical occupations. He became an enthusiast for Bach, whom he preached with the fervour of an apostle; and in 1810 published, in conjunction with Horn, an edition of the *Wohltemperirte Klavier*. Relating to this enthusiasm, Dr. Walker says:—

"Some of the organ concertos show curious features: the *finale* of one of these is based on *Rule Britannia* and another contains an exact transcription (duly acknowledged) of the D major Fugue from the first book of Bach's *Wohltemperirte Klavier*, given straight through twice over, first as an organ solo, and

then scored for full orchestra, when the brass, unable in the days before valves to play more than the natural notes, confines itself to incongruously military fanfares edged in here and there whenever the harmony allows. A movement like this, sandwiched in between Wesley's own decorous platitudes, must have sounded very strange; but at any rate he seems to have been determined to force his beloved Bach down his auditors' throats somehow."

The disrespectful remark as to Wesley's own work refers only to his instrumental writings, which were by no means on a level with his choral compositions.

In 1811, he was "conductor and solo organist" at the Birmingham Festival. From 1816-23, the cloud returned and almost stopped his work, save that he was able to promote the publication in 1820 of Forkel's *Life of Bach*. From 1823-30, he resumed his work; but thenceforward till his death in October, 1837 (the year of Queen Victoria's accession), his appearances were very rare. One of these was at the concert of the Sacred Harmonic Society in August, 1834, when his anthem, *All go unto one place*, written on the occasion of his brother Charles's death, was performed, he himself accompanying. And the last occurred in September, 1837, at Christ Church, Newgate Street, whither he had gone to hear Mendelssohn at the organ, and was himself persuaded to play. He had a great reputation for extemporising on this instrument and for his playing of Bach's and Handel's fugues. He was in fact the greatest English organist of his day. He seems to have had leanings at one time to Roman Catholicism, which however he repressed out of deference to his father's feelings.

The list of his compositions is a considerable one, and is to be found in Grove's Dictionary. It includes anthems, antiphons, services, glees and songs, as well as instrumental music. Of the few pieces written for the Anglican service, the anthem *Thou, O God, art praised in Zion* is a fine specimen (C; 4-2; four parts). It opens with a broad and dignified phrase for basses, the chief subject, which is then taken up by tenors, with two parts added above. A second strain then appears in the alto and tenor, after which the first subject is given again in the bass by inverse movement, with fresh upper parts; and this kind of treatment is carried on throughout. There are imitational points, and one or two contrasting passages of solid harmony; and altogether the anthem is a fine and elevated piece of work.

It is in the antiphons, however, written to Latin words, though they are now usually sung in English, that we see Samuel Wesley at his best. Of these there are a considerable number. *Tu es sacerdos* (six parts; A; 2-2) is comparatively short, consisting of only forty-seven bars; but its workmanship, including imitational passages consisting of an upward scale leading to a downward plunge of a seventh, with poignant discords, and its noble feeling, make it very impressive.

Exultate Deo ("Sing aloud with gladness;" five parts; D; 3-4) opens with a joyous fugue-subject which is carried through a regular exposition with unflagging *verve* and energy. A second follows at the words "Come ye with music, strike ye the tabouret." And later the two are worked together with much variety and resource, while there are considerable contrasts of massive harmonies — in one place syncopated so as to give the effect of 2-4— and quaver-passages in which Handel's influence is

discernible. The anthem is worked up to a good climax and pause towards the end, and closes with a broad harmonic passage followed by a similar one for organ alone.

Undoubtedly, however, the finest is *In exitu Israel* (eight parts; B flat; 4-4). It opens like the other three I have mentioned, with a unison phrase, in this case in tenor and bass. This is broad and dignified and constitutes the chief subject, appearing at intervals throughout, almost to the very end. A contrasted phrase follows, which then serves as a counter-subject; and these two are worked for some time, till at the words, "The sea saw that and fled," we have a fresh and distinctive subject which is well treated and then combined with the other two. At "Jordan was driven back" comes a new and pictorial subject of quavers, somewhat Handelian in manner. This, further on, is joined on to the Red Sea phrase in a tremendous unison passage; and still later appears in the midst of holding notes (a dominant pedal) in such a way as to suggest very forcibly the streaming water. After some further treatment, a tonic pedal, upon which appears the first grave subject, brings the whole to an impressive conclusion. The eight-part writing and general handling of the subjects and masses are admirable, and the anthem is a truly great piece of work.

III.

Samuel Wesley's son, Samuel Sebastian, was born in 1810. He was thus contemporary with Chopin (b. 1809), Mendelssohn (1809), Schumann (1810) and Wagner (1813); while the period to which he belonged in English music was represented by such men

as Macfarren (1810), Barnett, Balfe, Goss, Smart, Walmisley, SterndaleBennett, Ouseley and, not least, though somewhat earlier (really more contemporary with Sebastian's father), John Field (1782-1837), the composer of nocturnes, in which he was the forerunner of Chopin. Sebastian Wesley was educated at the Bluecoat School; and when nearly fourteen became a chorister at the Chapel Royal. After holding two or three ordinary organist's posts, he was appointed in 1832 to Hereford Cathedral, and conducted the Festival there in 1834. In 1835 he married and went to Exeter Cathedral, and thence in 1842, was induced to accept a specially favourable offer at Leeds Parish Church. He took a degree as Mus.Doc. at Oxford, his "exercise" being the eight-part anthem *O Lord, thou art my God.* He also applied for the appointment as Professor at Edinburgh University, but was unsuccessful. For this occasion he received a striking testimonial from Spohr. In 1849 he accepted the appointment at Winchester Cathedral, partly with a view to sending his sons to the College. And in 1865 he migrated to Gloucester Cathedral, which appointment he held till his death. He took his turn as conductor of the Three Choirs Festival; and received a pension of £100 (under Mr. Gladstone) as a recognition of his services to Church music. He died in 1876, and was buried at Exeter, where a tablet to his memory was placed in the nave of the Cathedral. A stained glass window was put up to his memory at Gloucester.

Spohr, in the testimonial just mentioned says:— "His sacred music is chiefly distinguished by a noble, often even an antique style, and by rich harmonies as well as by surprisingly beautiful modulations." A modern critic will hardly agree with this dictum. He will probably feel, almost throughout Sebastian

Wesley's work, the influence of Mendelssohn, which in some cases is extremely marked, in the turn of the phrases, in the structure of the periods, and in the harmonic manner. Mendelssohn's use of hymn tunes, too, is not infrequently copied by Wesley.* Sebastian was an accomplished musician, but never approached the lofty level of his father's *In exitu Israel*.

The list of Sebastian Wesley's compositions is a considerable one, and includes some three dozen anthems, services, organ-pieces, songs, &c. It should be noted that the anthem *All go to one place*, which was written for the death of the Prince Consort, is not to be confounded with that of the same name written by his father for Charles's (Sebastian's uncle) funeral. His best work is included in a collection of twelve anthems published about 1854. There is some divergence of opinion as to the comparative merits of these works. *Blessed be the God and Father* shows very strongly the Mendelssohnian cast of phraseology of which I have spoken, especially in the solo and unison section, "Love one another", where we have quaver accompaniments, and closes rising from the fifth of the dominant seventh to a minor thirteenth resolving upwards, exactly in the Mendelssohn manner. The writer in Grove says:—"Two of these [the twelve] composed at Hereford, *Blessed be the God and Father* and *The Wilderness* are universally recognised as standard works of excellence." Dr. Walker on the other hand, says:—"It is unfortunate that a very early work like *The Wilderness* should have somehow come to have been accepted as typical; in spite of its noteworthy picturesqueness and melodic flow it has a certain vein of rather weak elegance that Wesley afterwards altogether discarded. *Blessed be the God*

* There is also, at times, a vein of over-luscious harmonic sweetness which is somewhat in Spohr's own manner, and would no doubt appeal to him.

and Father is another anthem a good deal below its composer's best level, the popularity of which has perhaps rather hampered the appreciation of his more subtle things... The long and elaborate *O Lord thou art my God*, and the pathetic *Wash me throughly* are better examples of what their composer could do." With regard to this last one may perhaps accept the verdict. It is a slight piece, but pathetic, as Dr. Walker says. Some of the harmony is perhaps a little luscious; but the imitations at "For I acknowledge my faults" are good, and the discords add a welcome touch of strength. With the other, however (*O Lord thou art my God*), the case is somewhat different. This is Wesley's degree exercise (eight-parts; E♭; 4-4). The eight-part writing of the opening is not strong, and is mostly homophonic, after the ordinary Anglican church manner; and the two-bar phrases with feminine endings become rather tiresome. These feminine endings are carried into the subject of the ensuing fugue (four-parts) there being still two in this four-bar phrase. The weakness is thus greatly emphasized. The eight-part writing that follows is, in parts, better, and there are some antiphonal effects; but it is not infrequently mere doubling. The succeeding bass solo may pass muster; but this, too, is weakened by the frequent feminine endings. The eight-part chorus that follows is hardly more than four-part in reality. The next section (five parts; verse) splits up into distinct phrases (six bars; six, made up of three twos, 4, 4, 4, &c.), each with its cadence, frequently feminine; and the style is that of the ordinary anthem. The ensuing eight-part fugue is nearer the real thing; and a five-part chorus of no particular distinction ends the piece.

Altogether I cannot agree in this instance with Dr. Walker. It seems to me that in *The Wilderness* Wesley was more truly himself than in his later works; that he perhaps achieved more technique of a kind; but that, while he lost the somewhat *naïve* spontaneity of his youth, he did not gain in real strength. *The Wilderness* has a real gladness and elegance,—a youthful and somewhat feminine charm which we do not meet with elsewhere and which is more truly characteristic of the man. His reputation is, I think, somewhat overgrown. He is not a strong or great personality in any sense. He wrote the kind of music that appeals to the sentiment of the *average* Anglican congregation; and this has given him a popularity which has swelled into a fictitious fame. He is, as Dr. Walker says, "the Anglican composer *par excellence*.....His genius was not capable of taking wide views, and his style is always ..... somewhat feminine in character.....it lives and moves and has its being in the cathedral chancel."

We have now concluded this portion of our survey, and in looking over the whole field we can gladly acclaim a noble harvest. We have, of course, to own that the crop is not so fine in some places as in others; and we have ended in a corner where the soil is poor and the yield of inferior quality. We have, however, the power of prophesying (after the event), and know that the musical harvests will improve steadily both in quality and in quantity, and that an era of rich fruitfulness at the end of the nineteenth and opening of the twentieth centuries is drawing near.

PART II.

SECULAR MUSIC.

(a) Instrumental.

CHAPTER XV.

Hugh Aston; The Mulliner Book.

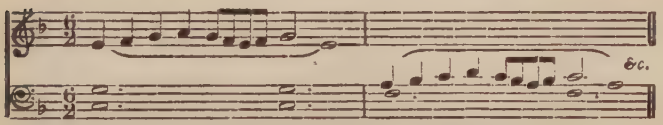
AS I remarked in the Introductory Chapter, instrumental music arises from two sources. (1) In the first place, instruments,—e.g., the organ, the virginals or the viols, are used as a support to (or to accompany) the voices or voice. The voices, then, being sometimes absent, or simply because the humour strikes the players, the vocal music (choral or solo) is performed by the instruments alone. The appetite grows by what it feeds on; and in time music in the same style is written purposely for instruments. Thus arises the more serious and lyrical music. (2) The other source is the dance. In all lands and ages some sort of instrument is used for accompanying the dance, be it only a hand-drum, to

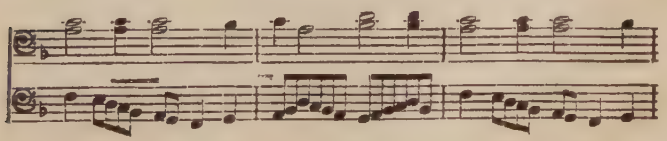
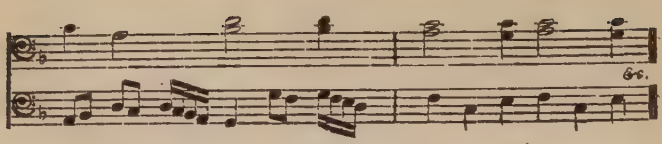
give the rhythm, as among some savage races. Of course, dances are sometimes sung,—there is vocal dance music; but I think it will be agreed that the course I have described is the more normal state of things.

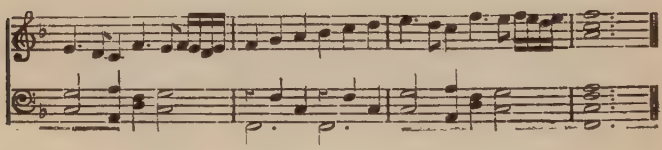
Now both these processes can be traced in our own early music. The dance—once it is played without the dancer—naturally takes on fresh elaborations of rhythm and subtleties of expression, as we see in the case of Chopin's superb *Polonaises*; and to mention a specific instance, the Throne Room Processional Dance (No. 6) in A♭ (Op. 53). We thus arrive also at the scherzos of our sonatas and symphonies, which in fact replaced an actual dance,—the Minuet and Trio. On the other hand, it is easy to see how the transference of vocal music, choral or solo, to the viols, organ or harpsichord would lead to changes and modifications. The symphonic first movement seems to have elements from both sources; but the slow movements have always preserved much of the direct utterance of song. And Mozart so instinctively uttered his soul in song, as it were, through the instruments, that he was charged with spoiling real instrumental style, of whose origin men had then lost sight. His intuition, however, was right: he kept true to type.

It is not possible, in the space here at command, to trace this growth exhaustively; but a few points may be noted. About contemporary with Fayrfax, or a little earlier, was Hugh Aston (or Ashton, Aystoun, Austen), whose life fell apparently in the late Henry VII. and early Henry VIII. period. Arkwright, in his article in Grove, speaks of him as "flourishing about 1500-20." He was thus a pre-Reformation man, and wrote for the Roman Catholic Church. Two Masses, in five and six parts, are pre-

served at Oxford; and a few other works are mentioned by Arkwright in the article just referred to. There is also a *Hugh Aston's Grownde*, a theme used by later writers for variations and about which there seems to be a little doubt. Byrd's piece of this name in *Lady Nevell's Book* appears in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* under the title *Treg(ian's) Ground.* It is not of these works, however, that I wish to speak here, but of his connection with dance music.

In the British Museum Royal MSS., Appendix 58, there is a *Hornpipe* by him for the virginals,—a most interesting piece as an early example in this kind. It is headed: "A Hornpipe, by Hughe Aston, Organiste in the early part of Hen: the 8th's reign." The construction is simple, with phrases alternating mostly, as we should say, between C and F, thus:—

As it proceeds, the dance gets more animated, the rhythms become more complicated, and the passages more rapid, somewhat as is the case with many of the dances in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book.* The excitement subsides somewhat towards the end, but dancer and player quickly brace themselves for the final effort:—



The close is:—

I am indebted to Prof. Bantock for a sight of this piece, which he copied at the British Museum.

II.

Our next point is some twenty to twenty-five years later,—*The Mulliner Book*. Thomas Mulliner does not figure among that artistic assembly, the guests, or pilgrims to Parnassus, who throng the courts of Grove's caravanserai for distinguished musicians. He was Master of the Choir of (old) St. Paul's towards the end of Henry VIII.'s reign; and he made a collection of a hundred and seventeen compositions for organ (or virginals), which is an important document in our history of the art of music. This volume, *The Mulliner Book*, is most probably in Mulliner's own handwriting and was made about 1545. The collection consists almost entirely of vocal pieces arranged for a keyed instrument, and is thus an illustration of the growth of

serious instrumental music from vocal music, of which we have already spoken.

The book is at present in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 30513) and is a field mostly unharvested, few of the pieces having yet been printed. It is an oblong octavo volume, in the original binding of brown leather, stamped with a Tudor rose, portcullis, and fleur de lys, and bearing the initials H(enricus) R(ex). The paper is late Henry VIII. There is a leaf at each end illuminated on both sides in Latin. Following this at the beginning comes a page of inscriptions, the chief of which is in old English lettering :—

> Sum liber thomae mullineri
> iohanne heywoode teste

To which is added a note: "J. Heywood's name occurs in Edward y 6th's list of Servants as a player on ye Virginals at a salary of 50 pds. pr. an.: J. Stafford Smith, *1776*." The MS. belonged at one time to Stafford Smith (*1750-1836*), who was organist and master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and who assisted Hawkins with his history. He accumulated a large and valuable library, including many MSS. The book has also belonged to Dr. Rimbault and to Professor W. H. Cummings. Another inscription on this fly-leaf runs: "T. Mulliner was Master of St. Paul's School;" and there is also some Latin verse. The music is written either upon two staves of 5-8 lines, or upon one stave of 11-13 lines.

At the end of the book there is a page of Latin verse; then a page with the names: Redford, Blythman, (young) Edwards, Shepherd, Tallis, (old) Tye, R. Johnson, (old) Munday. Applying to Edwards, apparently, is the remark: "This man was a Roman

Catholic, as most of them were, if not all, whose names are herein writ,—flourished about ye yr. 1555, and changed their religion with ye times, except a few." Richard Edwards (1523-66), says Grove's Dictionary, was a scholar of Corpus Christi, Oxford, took his M.A., and became a member of Lincoln's Inn. He was the compiler of, and chief contributor to, *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* and author of the poem *In going to my naked bed*, of which more anon.

Another note on the page in question runs: "Shepherd supplicated for a Dr.'s degree in 1554 after having been a student in music twenty years. See anthony Wood." There is a note on the dates of Queens Mary and Elizabeth; and one on the number of lines to a stave. Then follow some pages in a sort of hieroglyph,—six line staves with letters; perhaps a tablature. There are about a dozen pieces thus written, among them the *Queene of Scott galliard to ye* (?) (siterne ?) on a single stave, apparently by Mulliner, so it states at the end. There is also *The Frenche Galliarde*, and lastly, *Venetian Gallarde*, marked at the end "finis galliard,— Churcheyarde;" and then, added in another hand, *A Poet.* After some blank pages, then follows one with Latin; another with various extracts; and finally the illuminated leaf, as at the beginning, already mentioned. The contents of the book are as follows:—

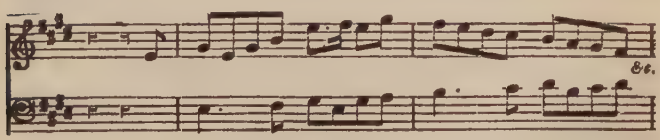
	FOLIO		
1	3	O ye happy Dames	Anon
2-3	4	Two pieces without titles	Anon [(S)mith
4	6	Short piece without title	(J)ohn (S)tafford
5	7	Gloria Tibi Trinitas	Nicholas Carleton
6-9	9	Four pieces without titles	Anon
10	13	Natus est nobis	Tallys
11	14	"A Fansye of master Newman's"	Newman
12	15	Whose faythefull service	Anon
13	16	La Bonnette (or honnette ?)	Anon

14	16	La donne cella (damigella? donnicella)	Anon
15	17	La shy myze (chemise?)	Anon
16	19	Voluntarye	Allwood
17	20	Claro pascali gaudio	Allwood
18	21	Felix namque	Farrant (R?)
19	25	Voluntarye	Farrant (R?)
20	26	Claro paşcali gaudio	Allwood (Different from No. 17)
21	27	Christe, qui lux	Blytheman
22	28	In nomine	Allwood
23	29	Quia fecit	Sheppard (Of the Queene's Chappell)
24	30	Fonde youthe is a bubble	Tallys
25	31	Eterne Rex altissime	John Redford
26	31	Piece without title	Blytheman
27	32	O Lux (on the fabourdon)	Redford
28	34	O Lux (with a meane)	Redford
29	35	Exultit celum laudibus (with a meane)	Redford
30	35	Christe, qui lux	Redford
31	36	An excellente meane (Given in appendix to Hawkins's "History of Music")	Blytheman
32	37	A Poynte	Sheppardd
33	38	Felix namque	Wyllyam Shelbye
34	42	In nomine	John Tavernere
35	43	Salvator (with a meane)	Redford
36	44	Lucem tuam	Redford
37	45	No title	Redford
38	46	Lucem tuam	Redford (Different from No. 36)
39	47	Christe, qui lux	Redford
40	48	Miserere	Shelbye
41	49	No title	Allwood
42	50	Remember not, O Lord God (In Day's "Morning and Evening Prayer")	Tallys
43	51	I give you a new commandment	Ascribed here to Tallys, but by Day to Shepherd.
44	52	In nomine	Robt. Johnson
45	54	Sermone blando	Anon
46	54	Veni, Redemptor	Reddford
47	55	Iste confessor (with a meane)	Redford
48-51	56-7	Four settings of "Eterne rerum Conditor"	Blytheman
52	58	Miserere (with a meane)	Redford
53	59	Glorificamus	Redford
54-6	60	Three pieces entitled "Versus"	Sheppard
57	61	No title	Anon
58	62	Tibi omnes	Anon

59	62	Te per orbem terrarum	Reddfordd
60	63	Tu ad liberandum	Anon
61	63	Salvum fac	Anon
62	64	Iste confessor (with a meane)	Redford (Different from No. 47)
63	64	A pointe	Anon
64	65	Verbum supernum (with a meane)	Redford
65	65	A meane	Redford
66-7	65	Two poyntes	Anon
68	66	My frindes	Anon
69	66	Lyke as the chayned wight	Anon
70	67	Salvator (with a meane)	Redford
71	67	Aurora lucis	Redford
72	68	Eterne rerum conditor	Redford
73	69	Jam lucis orto sydere	Redford
74	70	Reioyce in the Lorde allwayes	Redford (No author's name here given)
75	72	Te Deum	Blytheman
76	77	Of wyse heades	Anon
77	78	O the syllye man	Edwardes
78	79	Defyled is my name (with second part,—Full wrongefullye)	Johnson (Robt.?)
79	80	In goinge to my naked bed	R. Edwards (No author's name here given)
80	81	The man is bleste	No author's name
81	81	O ye tender babes	Tallys
82	82	Benedicam Domino	Johnson
83	84	When shall my sorrowfull sygheinge	Tallys (No author's name here given)
84	85	Jam lucis orto sydere	Tallys
85	86	In nomine	No author's name
86	87	I smyle to see howe you devyse	No author's name
87	88	The wretched wandering Prince of Troye	No author's name
88	88	When Cressyde went from Troye	No author's name
89-94	89-97	Gloria Tibi Trinitas (Six settings)	Blytheman
95	97	Veni Redemptor	Tallys
96	98	Ex more docti mistico	Tallys
97	99	No title	Tallys
98	99	Ecce, tempus	Tallys
99	100	No title	Tallys
100	100	Veni Redemptor	Tallys (Different from No. 95)
101	101	A Poyncte	Tallys

102	101	No title	Tallys
103	102	Ecce tempus ydoneum	Tallys (Different from No. 98)
104	102	Iste confessor	Tallys
105	103	Christe, qui lux es	Heathe
106	104	Christe, redemptor omnium	No author's name
107	105	O Lorde, turne not awaye	No author's name
108	107	Synce thou arte false to me	No author's name
109	107	O happye Dames	Stated to be by the Earl of Surrey, but perhaps only words his.
110	108	No title	No author's name
111	109	When grypinge griefes	No author's name
112	109	The bytter sweete	No author's name
113	110	Like as the dolefull dove	Tallys
114	111	A pavyan	Newman
115	111	I lift my heart	Tye
116	113	As I deserve	No author's name
117	114	Per haec nos	Tallys
118	115	Tres partes in una	Munday

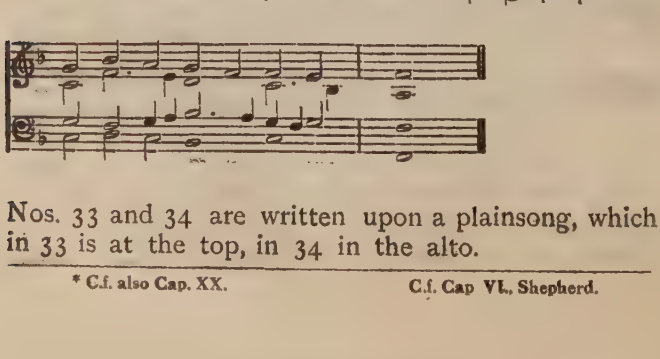
It will be noticed that there is a discrepancy between the number mentioned previously (hundred and seventeen) and the actual number here given. The reason is that No. 4 is not part of Mulliner's collection. It is written in a different hand, with different ink; and the style is much more modern. The top line of the six-line stave is crossed out, making one of five lines. The piece is probably by J. Stafford Smith, at one time owner of the book, as mentioned above. It opens:—



After No. 5, by Nicholas Carleton, there is a note saying that his son "Richard Carleton, in priest's orders, was the composer of one of ye *Triumphs of Oriana*, printed 1601." And then, in another hand

"which were composed to divert Queen Elizabeth in disorder for the death of the Earl of Essex, by the command of the Earl of Nottingham.* The appellative *Oriana* is evidently from *Gloriana*, the heroine of Spenser's *Fairy Queen*."

No. 17, in common with 20, 22, 34, 35, and many others, has a plainchant written transversely across the two staves at the beginning. In Nos. 18 and 19, the initials look rather like F. Farrant; but the word is probably ffarant, with double small *ff*, as is the case in many other words,—as, e.g., in No. 23; where a note runs, "ffinis quod master Sheppard of the queen's chappell." A note is added: "M(aster) Sheppard supplicated for his Dr.'s degree in music at Oxford, 1554,"† to which is added the spelling Shepparde. No. 24 is another case of the double f,—*ffonde youthe is a bubble*. No. 32 is a Poynte, or, as sometimes spelt, Poyncte, — an imitational passage perhaps used as a short voluntary. It obviously derives from choral music. This specimen is Shepherd's, and runs :—

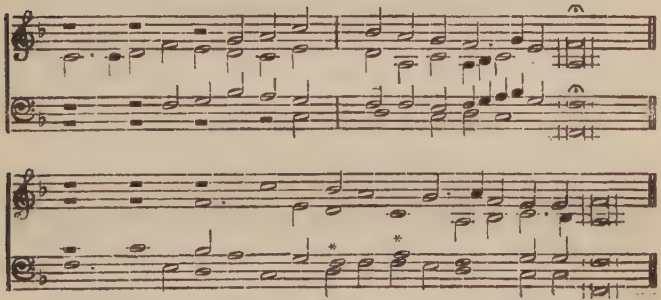


Nos. 33 and 34 are written upon a plainsong, which in 33 is at the top, in 34 in the alto.

* C.f. also Cap. XX. C.f. Cap VI., Shepherd.

To No. 42 there are notes added saying that passages are omitted,—in one place "a great deal omitted here."* A note to No. 43 says: "This is founde in Day's *Morning and Evening Prayer*, with the name Shepard to it, and is there said to be for men and the 1st part is said to be for children." Tallys is given at the end as author. (*C.f.* also Cap. VI., Shepherd.) At the end of No. 44 are the words, "ffinis quod Johnson."

Nos. 66 and 67 are two short *Poyntes*, without author's name. They again illustrate the fact that the serious organ style is based on choral music. They run:—



* Minims in original.

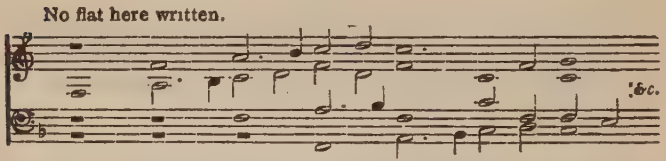
It will be noticed that the subject of the first is the same as that of Bach's E major Fugue, *Well Tempered Clavier* II.

No. 78 bears a note, "Johnson, Chaplain to Anne Boleyn," but no initial or Christian name. It is most probably, however, Robert Johnson that is meant

* A note at the end, however, says: "Tallis, corrected from Day's 'Morning and Evening Prayer,' 1565." This would appear to be a later addition, as there is reason to believe that Mulliner wrote about 1545, and could thus hardly have "corrected" from a version which appeared twenty years later!

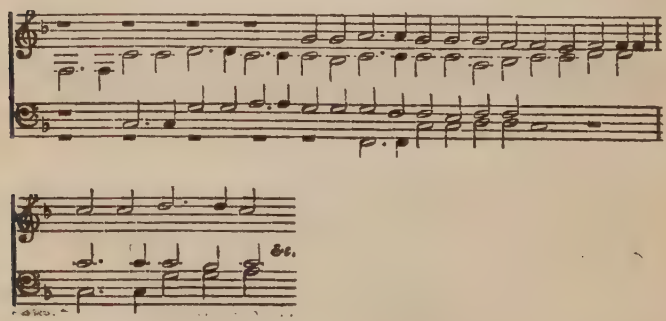
(q.v., Cap. VI., where this tradition is referred to). Who made this note and gave the tradition his *imprimatur*, I do not know.

With regard to No. 79, the author of the poem *In goinge to my naked bed*, as mentioned previously, was Edwards; and it is not improbable that he was also the writer of the music here transcribed for the organ. It begins:—



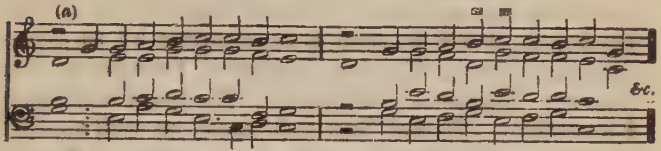
No. 77, *O the syllye man*, is also attributed to Edwards.

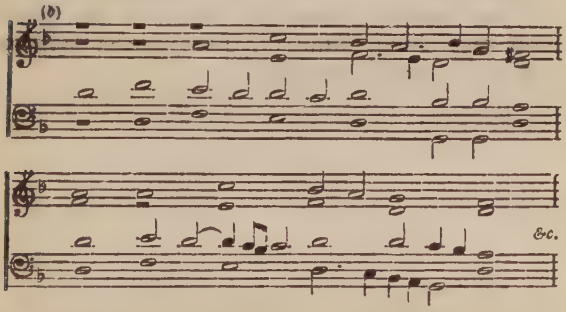
No. 82, Johnson's *Benedicam Domino*, opens as follows:—

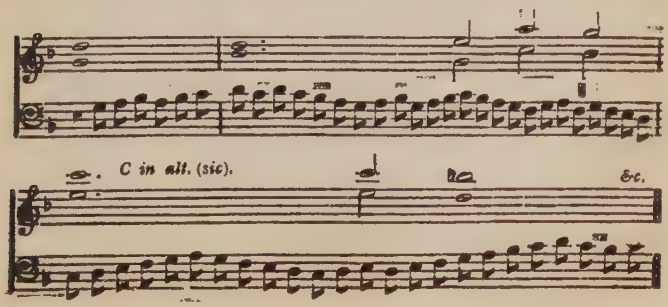


Nos. 87, *The Wretched, wand'ring Prince of Troye*, and 88, *When Cressyde went from Troye*, are obviously from choral pieces. It will be noted that

they are well before the production of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. The songs may have been based on Chaucer's poem. They begin :—



Next bar, 11 semibreves; next, 7 semibreves; then one of 6 and 3 breves, with pauses.

The style of No. 107, *O Lorde, turne not awaye* (Ps. 9), is characteristic of that of much of this music, with its stream of quavers (all with separate tails) accompanying the melody. It opens :—



Altogether this is a valuable and most interesting collection, and gives us further knowledge of two or three little known writers, as well as some acquaintance with the works of unknown anonymous authors. Blythman, it will be seen, is represented by 14 pieces; Shepherd has 5; Allwood 6; Robert Johnson 3; Redford 23; Farrant 2; Tallys 18; Wyllyam Shelbye 2; Edwardes 2; Earl of Surrey (if music as well as words be his) 1; Newman 2 (No. 114 being a Pavane, dances being found even here); Nicholas Carleton 1; Mundy 1; no author's name 36. It is to be hoped that, before very long, some of these pieces will be printed in more accessible form.

CHAPTER XVI.

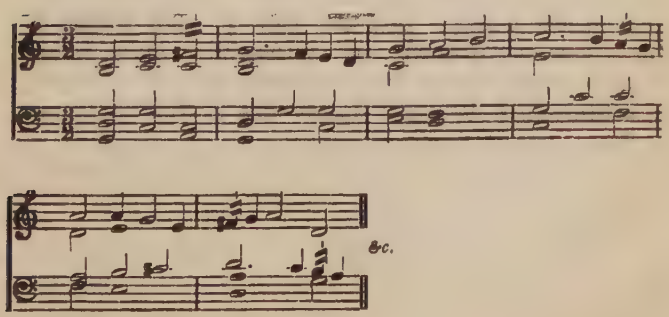
My Lady Nevell's Booke
(1591)

Benjamin Cosyn's Book
(*circ.* 1600-10)

AS spring sometimes seems to rush into the arms of summer with a riotous burst of life, blossom and colour, so art and mental life of all kinds burgeoned with almost miraculous profusion and lavish growth at the period we have now reached. Spenser, Sydney and the other poets; Marlowe, Shakespeare and the other dramatists; Bacon, Drake, Raleigh; the defeat of the Armada; all these were at once the fruits of a vigorous uprush of teeming life and themselves served in their turn as influences to concentrate the national consciousness and focus its rays as in a burning glass: and the art of music shared to the full in this vivid awakening. The next document we have to consider shows a great advance on *The Mulliner Book*. This is *My Lady Nevell's Booke*,

which was written about forty-five years later and bears at the end the inscription "Finished and ended the leventh of September in the yeare of our Lord God, 1591, and in the 33 yeare of the raigne of our sofferaine ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God queene of Englande, &c. By me, Jo. Baldwine of Windsor, Laudes Deo." A note is let into the title-page stating that the book was presented to Queen Elizabeth by Lord Edward Abergavenny, and describing the course by which it returned to the Abergavenny (Nevill) family. The note is signed "N. [or H.] Bergavenny," which, I am told, was the form the name assumed at that time. The MS. consists entirely of virginal music by Byrd and is now at Eridge Castle, the seat of the Marquess of Abergavenny, in the care of Lord Henry Nevill, to whose courtesy I am indebted for permission to examine it. It runs to some four hundred pages, numbered in folios, and is written in beautifully clear, large diamond-shaped notes, the ink being practically as brilliant as on the day it was finished. I need not give here a minute description of the volume and its contents, as has been done in the case of *The Mulliner Book*, since all these details are admirably given by Mr. Barclay Squire in the article *Virginal Music* in Grove. A few remarks on some of the pieces included are therefore all that is necessary.

No. 1 is *My Lady Nevell's Grownde*, written in variational style and with a good deal of rhythmical variety. It extends to a hundred and forty-seven bars,—six sections of twenty-four bars each, except the last, which has an additional three. No. 2 is *Qui passe: for my ladye nevell*, much the same in style and consisting of three sections of about forty bars each. Then follows a curious series of pieces

called at the time *Mr. Byrd's Battell.* It appears also practically the same in the *Elizabeth Rogers Book* (q.v. Cap. XIX.); and there is a copy in the Christ Church library at Oxford. Here, No. 3, *The Marche before the Battell*, is the same as *The Earl of Oxford's Marche*, in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (q.v. Cap. XVII.). No. 4 includes several sections (such as *The Marche of Footmen*, *The Marche of Horsmen*, *The Flute and the Droome*, &c.), details of which may be seen, as just stated, in the analysis in Grove. *The Marche to the Fighte* is almost entirely concerned with trumpets and for fifty-four bars is entirely on the chord of C. Definite trumpet-passages occur from bar forty-five, which is marked *Tantara, Tantara.* Eight bars later, the section "The battels be joyned" opens with two bars of repeated quaver-chords of C, after which a little more harmonic variety ensues; and the section ends with a semi-quaver passage. *The Retreat* follows (*c.f.* Cap. XVIII), and then comes a *Galliarde for the Victory.* This is not in the *Elizabeth Rogers Book*, which however, has a short section, *The Burning of the Dead* The *Galliarde* in this book opens:—

A few more remarks and specimens may be found in Cap. XVIII. in discussing the *Eliz. Rogers Book*. In view of the naïve character of the piece, it should be remembered that it is a *very* early attempt at programme-music.

No. 8, *The Huntes Upp*, appears as No. 59 in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. No. 23, *The Eighte Pauian*, is in *Will. Forster's Book* and also in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (No. 56). No. 26, *A Voluntarie for My Ladye Nevell*, is No. 67 *F.W.V.B.* No. 28, *The Maiden's Songe*, is in the Brit. Mus., Add. MSS. 31,403. No. 35, *Hugh Aston's Grownde*, appears (as stated earlier; Cap. XV.) in the *F.W.V.B.* under the title, *Treg(ian's) Ground*.

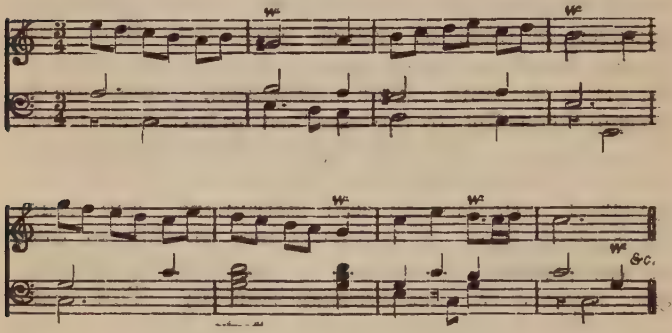
Mr. Barclay Squire, in the article in Grove already referred to, gives details of seven other pieces which appear elsewhere. But out of forty-two numbers this leaves a large balance not otherwise accessible; and in view of the historical importance of Byrd—*Homo memorabilis*, as he is called in the inscription of No. 17—and the intrinsic value of much of his work, it is to be hoped that some means will be found for the publication of the volume in the near future. Of course, it is early Byrd. But "it is the early bird that picks up the worm;" and the fact of such pieces as *The Carman's Whistle* and *Sellenger's Round* being already written shows that the early Byrd had begun, even thus early, to make discoveries of fairy treasure in the mystical world of art.

II.

Some ten to fifteen years later, or possibly a little more—the exact date is not known—another collection of the same kind was compiled, consisting mostly, however, of work by writers other than Byrd, and giving therefore a more general view of the state of the art of the time. This is *Benjamin Cosyn's Book*, written (according to the usual estimates) about 1600-10. Hawkins says that Cosyn was "a famous composer of 'lessons' for the harpsichord and probably an excellent performer on that instrument," and flourished about 1600. It is now known, in addition, that he was organist of Dulwich College, 1622-4, and the first organist of Charterhouse, 1626-43. This casts some doubt on the above estimate of the date of the book, which may have been rather later. A good number of the "lessons" or pieces in the book are given as Cosyn's own work. Two of them, however, are known not to be his; so that there must always be some reserve in accepting his authorship even in the case of the remainder. The writing is beautiful and clear, and the ink still brilliant and fresh. Of this volume also Mr. Barclay Squire's detailed description *(ibid)* is so easily accessible as to render its duplication here unnecessary. The book belongs to the Buckingham Palace Library, but is at present in the British Museum. There are errors in the pagination; but Mr. Barclay Squire's abstract makes all clear.

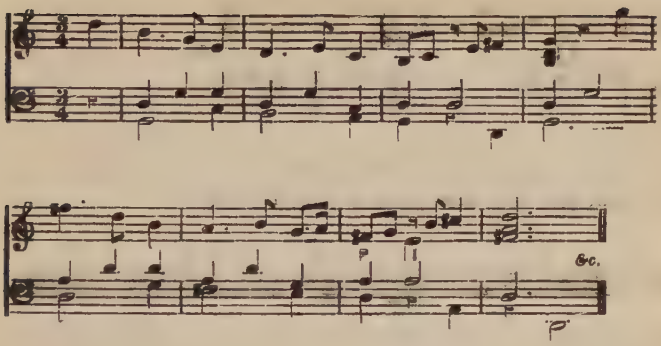
There are thirty-one pieces attributed to Cosyn himself. One of these (No. 17) is Orlando Gibbons's *The Queene's Command*, which appears in *Parthenia* (q.v.). The *Hexachord*, No. 26, similarly though really by Gibbons, is claimed by Cosyn. Twenty-five

are by Gibbons, one group of twelve (Nos. 55-66) showing him in his lighter vein. Gibbons was of a somewhat serious nature, and it is pleasant to find the playful charm of *A Toy*, No. 7 of this group, which has something of "the Farnaby touch." It opens:—



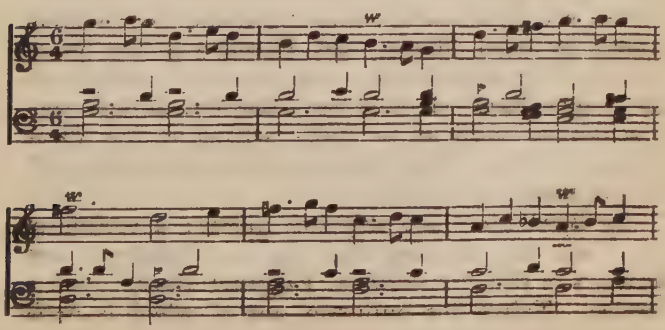
The *ffancy* preceding is conceived in the same spirit, but is less successful and has not the same irresponsible gaiety. There is also a three-part *Fancy* on 174-5 (old numbering), which is called in the text *Fantasia*, —a better title, since it is more serious work, and without the light-hearted ease implied by the less assuming name.

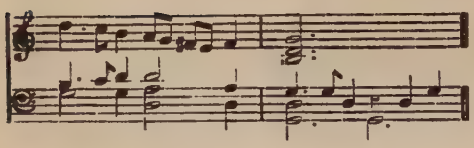
The same remarks apply to Bull's *A Fancy*, No. 49. There are twenty-nine pieces of his. He was the *virtuoso* of the day, and it is therefore not wonderful that his "lessons" should be in request. Some of them appear elsewhere in later collections,—e.g., *Dr. Bull's Juell*, which is in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. One piece of his that may be mentioned is in this simpler, more direct style. This is No. 89, *Dr. Bull's Greefe*, which begins:—



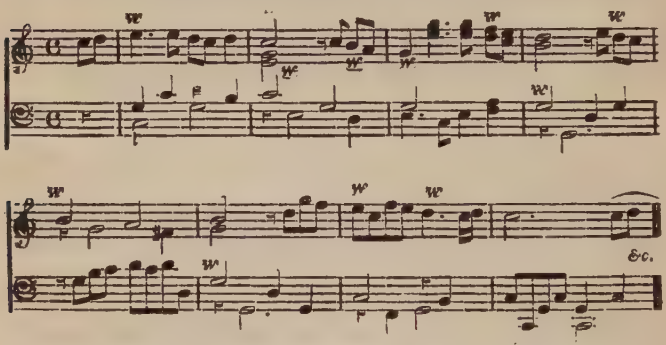
A similar, but longer, strain follows (eleven bars), and there is then a variation.

If Cosyn be really the author of the pieces attributed to him (with the exceptions named), he was certainly a man of real powers. No. 21 bears a title not uncommon at the time, the sub-title of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night,—What you will*, sometimes given in Latin *Quodlibet*, as if the writer would say: "A light and airy trifle, take it as you please." It opens :—





Another specimen of real charm is *The Goldfinch*, No. 68, the first few bars of which run :—



A variation follows; then a new strain in F (as we might say), which also has a variation with semiquaver passages; and the opening is then repeated. He has set Dowland's *Pavan, Lacrimæ (c.f.* similar settings by Byrd, Morley and Farnaby in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book);* and he has a version of *The King's Hunt*, which is very effective, though perhaps not so much so as Bull's setting in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. He has also a piece, *My Self*, No. 19, that recalls Bull's.

By Byrd there are only two pieces: a setting of *Goe from my Windoe*, No. 54, (*c.f.* Morley's and Mundy's in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*); and a Service. Tallys has only two, one of which is *Felix namque*, No. 53. The great bulk of the book is

"secular" music,—dances, settings of songs, and the like; but it closes with six *Morning and Evening Services* for the Anglican Church, an anthem, and a Venite, all in four parts and in score, and which were used in the Chapel Royal. They are by Bevin (Services and anthem, *O my Sonne Absalon*), Tallys (Services in D), Strogers* (Services in D), Byrd (Services in D), Cosyn (Venite in F), Gibbons (Services in F), Weelkes (Morning Service in F). Byrd does not appear at his best in the service just named. His heart was not with the Anglican Communion, and it was only for the Roman Church that he could utter his soul from its depths. With respect to No. 96, the Venite in F, it is only fair to remark that Cosyn seems here to have made an error on the other side to balance the account. His name does not appear, and the piece is attributed to Gibbons, though Cosyn's authorship seems now to be accepted. It is perhaps nothing but right, therefore, to think that the error, *per contra*, may be purely accidental.

The book is a valuable and interesting one as showing the style and quality of the music in request in the early part of James I.'s reign. Cosyn was evidently a teacher, and made the book not only for his own use, but as a dietary for that nestful of callow songsters, his pupils: and we thus learn something, not only of the technique and the spirit of the composers of Shakespeare's day, but also the sort of music that was being taught and that was forming the public taste. Cosyn, in serving himself, has certainly served us well also: and we owe him due recognition of the fact.

* No. 89, F.W.V.B. Fantasia by Strogers.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book
(1608-18.)

UNDOUBTEDLY the most important work of the class we are now considering is *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, which is a rich mine of musical treasure, and introduces us to two or three new names,—e.g., those of Farnaby and Dowland. The book belonged at one time to Lord Fitzwilliam, and then passed to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, where it now is. The notion that it was Queen Elizabeth's virginal book is now regarded as a myth. Certainly, as Burney remarks, she must have been a remarkable player — especially for royalty — if she could play it all. The book was published in 1899 (two volumes), under the joint editorship of J. A. Fuller-Maitland and Barclay Squire. It is a collection of music for the virginals and harpsichord; and there is every appearance of probability in favour of the view of these editors that it was made in the Fleet

prison about 1608-18 by Francis Tregian the younger, a Catholic recusant who suffered for his opinions and was under suspicion of treason. The whole of their *Introduction* will repay study.

The book shows harpsichord music in its full maturity, much of it of great difficulty and much of it of great beauty, tenderness and effectiveness. It contains 297 pieces, two errors in numbering cancelling each other. There are 72 by Byrd, 44 by Bull, 9 by Morley, 5 by Mundy, 5 by Tomkins, 19 by Peter Phillips, 8 by Richardson, curiously enough only 2 by Gibbons, 2 by Tallys, 1 by Richardson and 46 anonymous. Tregian himself is partly responsible for four, unless *Treg(ians) Ground*, No. 60, set by Byrd, is really Hugh Aston's, as stated in *My Ladye Nevells Booke.**

Two men remain to be mentioned,—Dowland, whose *Lachrimæ* appears in three settings by Byrd, Morley and Farnaby; and lastly Giles Farnaby himself, who is represented by fifty-three.

John Dowland (1563-1626) was a celebrated lutenist and composer who made a European reputation, travelling in France, Germany and Italy, and being at one time (1598) lutenist to King Christian IV. of Denmark. He was appointed lutenist to James I. in 1612. He is referred to in a sonnet which was printed by Jaggard in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and was thus for a long time ascribed to Shakespeare, though it is now known to be by Richard Barnfield (1574-1627). The sonnet begins:—

If music and sweet poetry agree;

* As illustrating the fact of communication between English and Continental music, it may be added that there are also pieces (four) by Sweelinck of Amsterdam, Ostermeyer, Martin Peereson, Galeazzo, Pichi, and Peter Phillips (nineteen), who though of English birth, was practically a foreigner, Canon of Bethune, and (says Burney), author of the first regular fugue with one subject that he had seen.

and the special lines run:—

Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense:
Spenser to me, whose deep conceit is such
As, passing all conceit, needs no defence.

Lachrimæ, referred to above, is a tender little piece, and was a favourite everywhere. It will be remembered that, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, on Merrythought's and Venturewell's exit, in Act II., Scene VIII., the citizen cries: "You musicians, play Baloo!" Upon which his wife interposes: "No, good George, let's ha' *Lachrymæ*." This tune, as already stated, appears three times in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, set by Byrd, Morley and Farnaby, all whose versions are interesting, Byrd's, perhaps, having the greatest charm. The fact of three such men using the melody is in itself an indication, not only of its intrinsic merit, but of the esteem in which Dowland was held. Further details of his life are given in Grove.

Giles Farnaby is one of the most attractive individualities in the book, his charming little pieces in which show a vivid life and spirit that place him, in essential artistic quality, above many a more pretentious musician. He came of Cornish stock, and was apparently born about 1568-70, since, by his own account, he began the study of music about 1580. In 1589 he was living in London, as we know from the churchwardens' accounts of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, a church connected also with Shakespeare, to whom a memorial window was put up some years ago.

Wood's *Fasti* says that Farnaby graduated as Mus.Bac. at Oxford in 1592, "stating in his *supplicat* that he had studied music for twelve years." He

entered largely into the stirring artistic life of his time; and of the reputation he achieved the large number of his pieces in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* is sufficient evidence. There are among them two or three *Maskes* which must have been written in the first instance for the stage; and this makes it probable that not only was he familiar with his fellow musicians — such as Byrd, Morley and Gibbons — but was brought into contact with the players and poets who, wanting songs and dances for the stage, would naturally turn to the skilled musicians, as is done at the present day. He may thus have taken part at some of the merry meetings of Shakespeare and his fellows at the *Mermaid.* Shakespeare was connected with *The Theatre* or *The Curtain,* on the Shoreditch edge of London, until 1599; then the growing Puritanical influences prevailed in getting the bear-gardens and theatres banished beyond the city boundaries. Shakespeare's company built *The Globe* on the Surrey side; and doubtless to these theatres Farnaby, Dowland and the rest, must have resorted. Further details may be found in Grove.

Farnaby published some canzonets and madrigals, but his reputation rests chiefly on his pieces in this celebrated anthology. They have a simple charm and *naïveté* which captivate all who make their acquaintance, and place them among the most attractive material in the collection. He shows himself a forerunner of the romantic movement in a little group of pieces quite in the Schumann vein—*A Toye, Giles Farnaby's Dreame, His Rest, Giles Farnaby's Conceit, His Humour*—all of which are irresistible in their appeal. They are delightful and individual pieces, with a poetic basis. *A Toye* has a quaint and catching melody, which takes one's fancy at once. The *Dreame* has a tender vein of sentiment that will touch

the hearts of all. The *Galliarda*, too, is interesting. The first strain of eight bars is a pleasant melody, distinctly in A minor; the second strain shows more of the modal idiom; the two strains are then subjected to variational treatment. *Rosasolis* belongs to a type which is, as already stated, very common in the music of the period. It is the transcription of a song (in this case evidently with a chorus), which is then, as in the cases of the *Galliarda* and *Quodling's Delight*, subjected to variational treatment. This was, in fact, one of the chief methods by which instrumental music was evolved and attained logical continuity. A similar and particularly attractive case is *Old Spagnoletta. Pawles Wharfe* is another example, and is quite a catching popular tune, distinctly in D, though subsequently modal characteristics appear. *Quodling's Delight*, just referred to, is a charming piece, with a strong family likeness to *The Oak and the Ash and the Bonny Ivy-tree*.

Other notable specimens are *Spagnoletta*, *Woody Cock*, the infectiously gay *Meridian Alman* and the *Gigge*, whose curious rhythmical structure Dr. Naylor discusses in his book on the collection. Farnaby's tonality has distinctly a modern tendency. The modes, of course, were the idiom of the time; but in many places he seems to leap clear into the modern key-system. There is an interesting group of ten *Fantasias*,—not Farnaby's most characteristic work, but a valuable help to an understanding of the period. As already hinted, long instrumental pieces were always something of an embarrassment. The writers hardly knew how to give them coherence. Gibbons's fine *Fantasia of Foure Parts* is the most successful achievement, even his own *Fantasias of Three Parts for Viols* being less mature. Farnaby's *Fantasias* have interesting points and fine passages, but on the whole

they lack organic unity; and in fact his mind seems hardly to have had the large architectonic quality needful for a pioneer in such an art. His method resembles that of Gibbons,—an imitational opening, often almost fugal, the subject disappearing later on, however, and giving place to fresh ones which are announced and worked in succession. An album containing an excellent selection of a dozen of these pieces has been issued by Prof. Bantock (Novello) and should be in the hands of all.

No. 147 is an *Alman*, being Farnaby's setting of a melody by Robert Johnson. Johnson was a lutenist and the son of a lutenist. His father was John Johnson, whose name appears among those of Elizabeth's musicians for that instrument from 1581 until his death in 1594-5. A few details are given in Grove: whether he was any connection of "Johnson the Preest" discussed in Chapter VI. is unknown. His son Robert (of whom we are now speaking) was born probably about 1584, since he was apprenticed in 1596 and appointed one of James I.'s lutenists in 1604, after which his name appears in the accounts till 1633, in Charles I.'s reign. In 1611, he became one of the musicians of Prince Henry, Charles's elder brother, through whose untimely death Charles became king. There seems to be no record of his death, but it must have occurred before April 30th, 1634, when his successor in the king's suite was appointed. A few further details are given in Grove.

The *Alman* just mentioned is a melodious little piece of ten bars and has a very real charm. It is in 4-2 time, but the first bar appears to have six minims, through there being an odd crotchet at the beginning, which instead of being put before the bar is incorporated in it and rests added. There is also a *Pavane* (No. 39) of Johnson's, set by Farnaby. It is con-

siderably longer, but is not so attractive. It is, by the way, an illustration of the different point of view, with regard to barring, from that of the average choirmaster now, who wants a rigid rhythm and down beat accent. In the older music, this is not so: the length of the bar often varies—in this case some are four minims, some eight—and the rhythm should be kept flexible. Nos. 145 and 146 form a group with No. 147 (already mentioned) of three *Almans*, these two others being Johnson's own work. They too are quite short, occupying only a page each; are melodious and alive; and all the group in common show a sequential tendency.

Miss Nellie Chaplin—whose admirable performances of this early music are most valuable and instructive, and should be attended by all students of the subject—gave an *Allemande* by Johnson, some time ago, with the dance. Used thus for its original purpose, it had an added interest, and proved most attractive.

The song *As I walk't forth* was printed in Playford's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1652 and 1659), and has been republished by Arnold Dolmetsch, in his *Select English Songs and Dialogues* (Boosey). It is almost entirely in the key idiom, is simple, direct, melodious, full of real feeling, and produces a most touching effect. It certainly ought not to suffer neglect, and Mr. Dolmetsch deserves our thanks for preserving it. And here a word should be added as to his services, also, in the cause of this early music. He is, of course, the pioneer in bringing the instrumental works to actual performance, by himself and his family; and these performances are of the greatest value both artistically and educationally. His collection of viols, lutes, harpsichords, &c., is a fine one; and he is now making excellent harpsichords himself. Those inter-

ested in music of this period should lose no opportunity of hearing it under these conditions.

John Munday (or Mundy) was a son of William Mundy, from whom he received his education. He was organist at Eton College, and succeeded Merbecke as one of the organists of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, about 1585. He took his Mus.Bac. at Oxford in 1586, and his Mus.Doc. in 1624. For his madrigal *Lightly she tripped o'er the dales*, *c.f. The Triumphs of Oriana*, cap. XX. Further details are to be found in Grove. He died in 1630.

Munday's Joy (No. 282), is a simple piece with a personal touch akin to that of *Dr. Bull's My Selfe*, and Farnaby's *Humour* and *Rest*. *Robin* (No. 15) is a set of variations on a song of the time, and has a certain touching quality. Nos. 2 and 3 are two *Fantasias*, of which the last is a curiosity in its way, and doubtless for this reason aroused the interest, or took the fancy, of Tregian in his confinement, if he were the scribe. It is an early experiment in depicting nature. It opens with ten bars in the upper register, called *Faire Wether*. *Lightning* then comes with a quaver and semi-quaver figure, and with some attempt at jagged outline. *Thunder* follows, represented by rapid scales in the bass. This programme is gone through four times (!) and the piece ends with five bars labelled *A Cleare Day*. Altogether a singularly *naïve* little attempt. No. 42 is a set of variations on the song *Goe from my window*, and shows a good deal of resource. This piece is also attributed, however, though without the eighth and last variation, to Thomas Morley, under whose name it appears as No. 9. Of him we shall speak further when we come to discuss madrigals (Cap. XX.); so we will here only glance at a specimen or two of his work in this collec-

tion. As already stated, there is a setting of Dowland's *Lachrimæ*. There is a setting (by Byrd) of a tune of his, *La Volta* (No. 159). It consists of two strains, which are varied, the whole having a certain simple charm. No. 154 is a *Galliard*, consisting of three strains, each of which is varied with resource and effect. *Nancie* (No. 12) is a set of variations on an attractive little song. No. 152 is a cheery little *Alman* with running passages. Nos. 169-70 are a *Pavan* and a *Galliard*. And lastly, No. 124 is a *Fantasia* of some length, which, however, is not so valuable a contribution towards the problem of organic unity in instrumental music on the larger scale as Gibbons's *Fantasia* in *Parthenia* (Cap. XVIII.).

William Blytheman, fourteen of whose pieces are included in *The Mulliner Book* (q.v.) is represented here by a single *In Nomine*. It is almost entirely in three parts, the accompaniment being in triplets of crotchets and the bass being at a great distance from the upper parts, so as to leave a rather hungry vacuum. He was a distinguished figure in his day: Master of the Choristers at Christ Church, Oxford, and also a Gentleman and one of the Organists of the Chapel, where he did an important work in the musical education of Bull. He died on Whit Sunday, 1591.

Of Gibbons's two pieces, No. 292, is the *Pavan* (Lord Salisbury's), from *Parthenia*, whose opening phrase reminds one of *Lachrimæ*. It has many harmonic peculiarities, chiefly owing to what would now be reprehended as "false relations," but which give it a strange, wistful beauty, something like that which we find in Dürer's and Leonardo da Vinci's work. The workmanship is fine; and altogether the piece makes an indelible impression on the mind. There are a few slight variants between the two versions,

that in *Parthenia* being of course the most authentic. The other piece (No. 40) is a setting of the song, *The woods so wilde*, of which there is also a version by Byrd (No. 67). Both are in the form of variations. The tune is an attractive one, and both settings are interesting and resourceful; Byrd's, perhaps, being the more successful in real musical quality, though one misses the poetic touch that the title suggests in both. Perhaps it is hardly fair to expect that, in key-board technique, at this period.

Space will not allow of full discussion of this fascinating book, but enough has been said to indicate its character and value; and the book itself is easily accessible to students. A few words must be added, however, as to Bull's, and finally Byrd's, contributions, these being two of the most important guests at this musical symposium.

Of Bull's *Hexachord*, No. 51, I have spoken in Cap. XI. Apart from its evidence of some sort of equal-temperament-tuning, there are interesting cases of cross-rhythms, some of them very complex. As a matter of curiosity, one may mention that about halfway through there is an anticipation of a phrase in *Walter's Prize Song*. The other *Hexachord* (No. 215) is less interesting. Bull was a *virtuoso*, and his music naturally shows traces of the fact. The method of treatment, based upon variations—the natural and inevitable course of growth—becomes at times a trifle wearisome in most of these writers: one sees the ornamental scale passages, &c., in store:

Coming events cast their shadows before.

Perhaps, therefore, the most attractive of Bull's pieces is the most unassuming one, in which there is a real personal touch, in which he forgets himself, to some

extent, as a musician and appears more as a man,— No. 189, *A Gigge: Doctor Bull's My Selfe.* There is something here of the "quips and cranks" of which Milton speaks and less of the orthodox treatment. *The King's Hunt*, too, with its suggestion of open air gaiety and horns is a lively piece, though the player is again to the fore in the rapid repetitions of notes towards the end. However, Bull works up the excitement, and is "in at the death" with a note of exultation. How different from Shakespeare who, when he describes a hunt, gives us, not the feelings of the hounds and huntsmen in scarlet, but those of,— poor Wat, the hare! There is no such maudlin sentiment here. The Doctor sides in a normal, manly, and healthy manner with the jolly fellows at a cavalry sing-song, or a hunt dinner :—

> Let us join the gay throng
> That goes laughing along,
> For we'll all go a-hunting to-day.

As Professor Bantock remarks in a note in the *Bull Album*, referred to in Cap. XI., *The King's Hunt*, "appears to have been a favourite subject among the Tudors, for there is another piece bearing the same title in the Fitzwilliam collection, by Giles Farnaby." *Dr. Bull's Juell*, which appears also in *Benjamin Cosyn's Book*, has a curious alternation of C and B♭, as we should say: but it is a lively piece, with a quaint touch about it. There are forty-four pieces in all, and Bantock's Album contains a selection of the most interesting, nine in all, though the album contains ten, the other being from *Parthenia*. This may serve as an introduction to the worthy doctor. The student may become more intimate by visits to his

home, the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, which can be seen at any good public library.

To close this sketch of the collection, we may note a few additional pieces by Byrd, the "Father of Musicke," besides those referred to in Chapter IX. There is a piece (No. 162) called *The Ghost*, which, however, lacks the eerie horrors usually associated with the title. Byrd does not appear to attempt them. Was this merely a popular tune that took his fancy? *The Carman's Whistle* appears also in *My Ladye Nevell's Booke*. It is a fine tune, and was used for a ballad, *The Courteous Carman and the Amorous Maid*. The setting is one of the most characteristic and effective pieces of the period. *O Mistress mine* is the tune used on the stage, in *Twelfth Night*, in Shakespeare's day: possibly he wrote new words to an old tune, as Burns so often did. There are twenty-six pavans, six almans, three galliards, two corantos, two hexachords (similar to that of Bull, just mentioned), and four fantasias. *Wolsey's Wilde* (No. 157) has a cheery, out-of-door directness and jollity. *Rowland* (No. 190) is an attractive tune with variations in the usual style. *Sellenger's Round* (No. 64) is treated in the same way, but at greater length. The tune itself is twenty bars, and in addition there are eight variations. The term "round" is not here used in the technical musical sense. A round is also "a dance in which the performers are ranged in a ring or circle" (*c.f.*, the phrase, in the old folk-song, *The Cheshire Man*, "To dance a Cheshire round"). The swing of the tune is infectious in its hilarity and is kept up throughout. In one place scales in double notes are employed. *Jhon, come kisse me now* (No. 10) is a pleasant little tune; and the variations, of which there are fifteen, show much resource and some happy effects. It is to be hoped that after her sixteen invitations the young

lady's desire is crowned with full fruition. In *The Earl of Oxford's Marche* (No. 209), Byrd seems to be poking fun. It might be used for a review of toy-soldiers. It appears also in *My Ladye Nevell's Booke*, where it is called *The Marche before the Battell.* The *Fantasias* are good work; but there is nothing in this line of the importance of Gibbons's specimen in *Parthenia.* Byrd was, on the whole, a greater man than Gibbons; but this is one of the matters in which Gibbons surpassed the elder musician. Byrd, however, has a touching, mystical vein which Gibbons has not,—not at any rate to the same extent. Professor Bantock has drawn my attention to a passage in the *Fantasia*, No. 103, after the first double bar, which recalls one in the anthem *Civitas sancti tui* (*c.f.*, Cap. IX.) The passage here, however, has hardly the same emotional quality.

Altogether, the value of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* can hardly be overrated. It brings before our eyes very vividly the musical doings and outlook of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean period, even throwing some light on the social atmosphere of the day; and we are deeply indebted to Tregian (?), in that his intramural distractions took this particular form. Peace to his ashes!

[A complete conspectus of the pieces in the *Fitzwilliam* and other virginal books is given in Mr. Barclay Squire's article on *Virginal Music* in Grove's Dictionary. For the point as to the date of *Dr. Bull's Juell*, there raised, *c.f.*, also the Introduction to the book itself.]

CHAPTER XVIII.

Gibbons's Fantasias of Three Parts for Viols.
(1609-10.)

Parthenia.
(1611.)

Will Forster's Book.
(1624.)

Elizabeth Rogers' Book.
(1656.)

WE now begin to emerge from the poetical twilight of MS. into the common daylight of print; and at the same time we reach a state of greater maturity in instrumental music. As already stated, serious instrumental music arose from choral music; a further detail, however, may now be added. Many of the early instrumental pieces bore

the title "In Nomine." This was because, treading in the footsteps of their predecessors, writers clung to the practice of basing their work upon an ecclesiastical chant which, originally at any rate, had been sung to the words In Nomine Domini,—writing, in fact, upon a plainsong or *canto fermo* which served as a guide and support in the same way that, as we have seen, many of the church compositions, from Dunstable's onwards, were written upon a plainsong. After a time, however, instrumental writers began to free themselves from this tether and, like frolicsome children, to untie the restraining apron-strings of Mother Church and frisk away at their own sweet devices. The more serious music with this increased freedom then began to be called Fantasias. Madrigals also were transferred from voices to viols (we frequently find, following the title of a musical work, the words added: "Apt for Voyces or Viols") and thus enriched the stream of instrumental song; and many writers—among them William Lawes, elder brother of Henry—engaged in this style of composition. In 1609-11, during the compilation of the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, two important publications of historical and artistic interest appeared and exercised a real influence upon the growth of the art. These were (1) Gibbons's *Fantazias of Three Parts for Viols* and (2) *Parthenia*, consisting of pieces for virginals by Byrd, Bull and Gibbons.

As we have seen, in 1575 Tallys and Byrd received from Queen Elizabeth a monopoly for printing music and selling music-paper; and in 1586, Tallys having died and Byrd being sole proprietor, Thos. Este issued works as his assignee. These were mostly vocal works, and issued in part-books. One step forward was now made. Gibbons's *Fantazias of Three Parts* were still, it is true, published, not in score

but in part-books only; but they were, as the original title-page says, "Cut in copper, the like not heretofore extant." The Musical Antiquarians' Edition has been scored from these part-books and collated, says Rimbault, the editor, "with the composer's MS. score preserved in the library of Christ Church, Oxford."

This publication is an important event. We have here a tissue of self-dependent, coherent music, in which the choral style is practically superseded and a true instrumental style achieved. The part-writing is free and fine in workmanship, and variety of effect is by no means wanting. What is still wanting, however, is central unity of design. The plainchant is dropped, and there is no other continuous thread about which the thought may crystallize. The fantasias open with a clean-cut motif which is treated imitationally—almost fugally—for a time and then gives place to another. This also is treated and makes way for a third, and so on, the work being carried on in similar style (though often with happy contrasts that prevent dulness), thus giving a general effect of continuity. This succession of subjects, each in turn being dropped, is characteristic of the somewhat tentative state of the instrumental art of the day; but Gibbons's mind was of the constructive type, and apt for continuous thinking, and these fantasias are an important contribution to the evolution of self-dependent music on the large scale. It is a pity that they are not more frequently performed. Bantock has given one or two at the Midland Institute, when they proved to have still a very real interest and attractiveness, and they really deserve more attention than they at present receive. The Bach Society of Birmingham has also performed some.

II.

About two years later, in 1611, came another important publication, and again a real event in musical history. This was, to quote the original title-page :—

PARTHENIA

OR

THE MAYDENHEAD

of the first musicke that
euer was printed for the VIRGINALLS

COMPOSED

By three famous Masters William Byrd, Dr. John Bull and Orlando Gibbons.
Gentilmen of his Ma^ties most Illustrious Chappell.

Below, there is an engraving of a maiden seated at the virginals playing, presumably, one of the pieces that follow. This title-page is reproduced in the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition, which also includes a facsimile of a page of one of the most important works in the book,—No. 17, Gibbons's *Fantazia of foure parts*. This is written on six-line staves, with C and F clefs on the second and fourth lines respectively. Below the above title are the words "Ingrauen by William Hole,"—engraved, i.e., on copper plates. The example was generally followed both here and on the Continent; and the book, says Anthony a Wood, was "the prime book used by Masters in Musick for nearly half a century," many subsequent editions being issued.

Gibbons's *Fantazia of foure parts*, just mentioned, is a further important contribution to the evolution of extended instrumental music, being more mature in style than the *Fantazias of three parts* that we have already discussed. The texture of the work often resembles that of a fugue: the exposition is regular and there are *stretti*. The same practice is employed, however, as in the previous work,—that of introducing a succession of subjects. In this case, there are seven such motifs that appear and are treated successively; but each leads naturally into the next, and continuity of thought is evident. There is variety of effect,—no dulness; and the last subject provides a good peroration and brings the work to a satisfying close. Complete unity, however, is not attained. Works written on this plan, in fact, recall Milan Cathedral, — which many may think the highest possible compliment. Apart from the discrepancy of styles, however, the forest of pinnacles and statues on the roof is not dominated by any central conception and produces a discursive effect which can hardly belong to the highest style of art. The *Fantazia*, however, is a landmark and a really valuable achievement.

There are in all six pieces by Gibbons — Nos. 16 to 21. No. 16 is an effective *Galliard*, — 8 bars, variation; 7 bars, variation; 8 bars, variation. The passages have perhaps too much tendency towards mere scales, depending merely on their rapidity for their interest; but the piece is a good one on the whole. The *Fantazia* we have discussed follows. No. 18 is the very attractive *The Lord of Salisbury his Pavin*, the subject-matter having some connection with that of Byrd's piece of similar title mentioned later. It appears again in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. This too is an excellent piece of work, though

not having, perhaps, quite the charm of Byrd's: it is less simple, and larger, but real music. No. 19 is a *Galliard*, in which the method of the first *Galliard* is followed. No. 20 is *The Queene's Commande* which, as we have seen, appears also in *Benjamin Cosyn's Book*. It was evidently written at the wish of Henrietta Maria. It is in 4-bar phrases, each followed by a variation, and is quite an attractive little piece. No. 21, and last, is a *Preludium*. It is good work, with passages sometimes in the right hand, and sometimes in the left, and not confined to the scale-idiom. Suspensions are a good deal used; and altogether it is an effective little piece.

Byrd's contributions are Nos. 1-8. First comes a *Preludium* of ten bars: then follows a Pavan of some length, *S. William Petre*. This, of course, is a dance of the period, the music for which is now in process of becoming a form of pure music. No. 3 is another contemporary dance, a *Galiardo*, concerning which the passage in *Twelfth Night* has been frequently quoted:—

Sir Toby. Why dost thou not go to church in a galliard, and come home in a coranto? My very walk should be a jig. (I: 3.)

The galliard is also referred to in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wild Goose Chase* (II: 2) where a note in the Mermaid Edition says that Sir John Davies describes it as:—

.....a gallant daunce
With lofty turnes and capriols in the ayre.

The coranto is quicker than the galliard; and so, as Sir Toby deems, befits irreverent youth's escape from

church. This coranto, being also transformed into a purely musical movement, became the *courante* of the suites of a later period.

No. 4 is another, and more extended, *Preludium*, made up of passages of a character to try the instrument. No. 5 is the *Galiardo Mrs. Mary Brownlo*, whose rhythmical variety is a notable point. But the gem of the set is No. 6, *Pavana the Earle of Salisbury*, showing some structural relationship with Gibbons's piece of similar title. It is in two sections of sixteen bars each, the first part closing, as we should say, on the dominant, and the second returning to the tonic,—the germ of the sonata-plan. It is only half the length of Gibbons's, simpler and not so large in style; but it has Byrd's peculiar sweetness of spirit and charm. Some will prefer the one and some the other, according to their own natures. Two more Galiards follow,— No. 7, an attractive little piece; No. 8, *Galiardo secundo Mrs. Marye Brownlo*, more than twice its length, and containing some rhythms which one would think would be somewhat perplexing if it were really danced to. Imitations of a free sort, suited to virginal playing, are frequent; and passages which sometimes seem to have pleased by their mere rapidity. This closes Byrd's contribution, which shows his musical personality in a happy light.

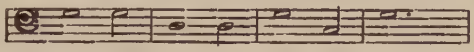
Bull's pieces are seven in number, Nos. 9-15. They too, of course, are good work technically; they are also good musically, though perhaps the player's instinct is more in evidence than is the case with those of the other two triumvirs. First comes a *Preludium*, with passages which evidently interested him as a performer. Nos. 10-11 are a *Pavana Sir Thomas Wake* and the *Galiardo* to it; the first of course being in duple time, and the Galiard a treatment of the same subject in triple time. In this,

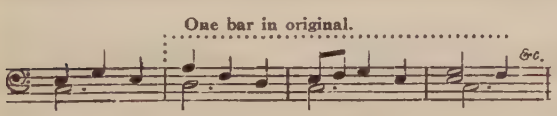
passages of increasing speed characterise the repetitions till, towards the end, the tune (in the right hand) is accompanied by a stream of rapid semiquavers in the left. The same kind of plan is followed in No. 12, *Pavane;* but after the variation on the first sixteen bars a fresh subject appears which is treated in the same way. Nos. 13-15 are *Galiards:* No. 14 being I think the most attractive piece in the set, with more purely musical interest than the rest. A similar, and independent, verdict is indicated by the fact that Bantock has chosen this for the Bull Album already referred to,—a choice of which I was not aware without reference. Bull has been called the Elizabethan Liszt: his instincts were those of a virtuoso: and although he has nothing here so exacting to the player as some of the pieces in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, his mental outlook is evident. Altogether, the appearance of the book was quite an event and a real contribution to the development of musical art.

III.

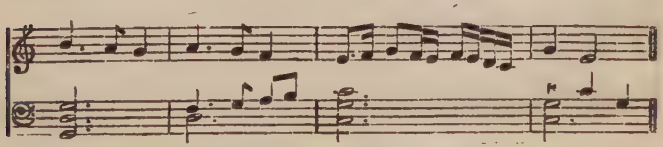
Another MS. collection of pieces, similar to those already described, was made towards the end of James I.'s reign, and finished, as the signature shows, 31st January, 1624. This is known as *Will. Forster's Book* and belongs to the Buckingham Palace Library, though it is at present in the British Museum. Of this, too, Mr. Barclay Squire's detailed analysis in his article, *Virginal Music*, in Grove renders a similar exhaustive description here a waste of space. Suffice it to say that Byrd is represented here by thirty-three pieces, Morley by

two, John Ward by nine, Englitt by one, Bull by three, while the authors of thirty are unnamed. This makes seventy-eight in all. The music is written upon six-line staves, the clefs being F and C, both on the fourth line.

No. 1. is a *Grounde* of Byrd's, given out first in its simplicity :—

and then increasing in complexity and pace and rising in pitch as it proceeds. There are 37 sections in all, but the "ground" is not always exact. An interesting case of free rhythm occurs at sections 13-14, where the phrase is contracted to three bars, the beginning of 14 anticipating its entry and coming on the close of 13. No. 7, *Felix nunquam*, given here without author's name, appears in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* as *Felix namque*, by Tallys. Byrd's *Hornepipe*, No. 8, is a spirited dance, with growing animation, beginning low down but rising in pitch as the excitement increases. It opens :—



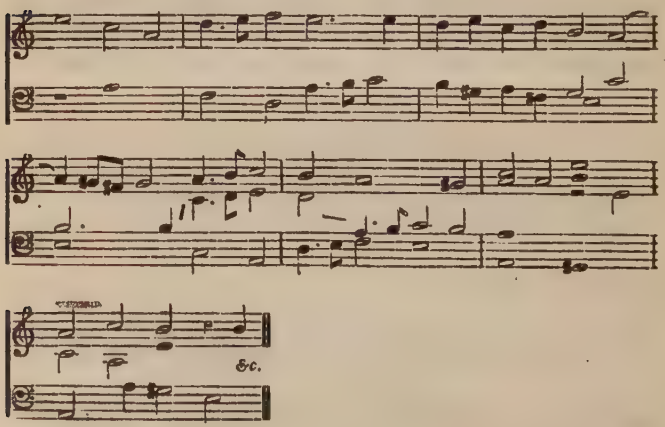
Section 7 runs :—



There are forty-nine sections in all.

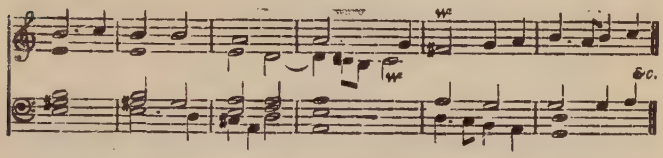
No. 10, *Wilson's Wilde*, has only the heading, the music not having been copied. It is attributed to Byrd in the index. As will be seen, on reference to the analysis in Grove, just mentioned, many of the pieces are to be found also elsewhere. It will therefore, perhaps, be most interesting to speak of one or two of the others.

John Ward published, in 1613, his *First Set of English Madrigals*, to three, four, five and six parts, *apt both for Viols and Voyces*, and contributed in 1614 to Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations*. Barnard has an Evening Service and two anthems of his. He died before 1641. Further details are given in Grove. His pieces in the present collection are arrangements of choral work, mostly from Psalms CIII. and LI. No.25, *For looke how highe*, is described as à 3; but an additional part occasionally appears, the temptation to the player being too great. It begins:—

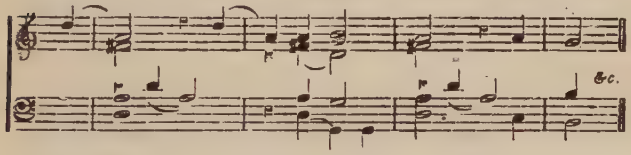


It runs to forty-three bars, about the average length. They are good, sound work.

No. 37 is a piece without a title, bearing the name of Englitt. This, too, is excellent work, opening :—

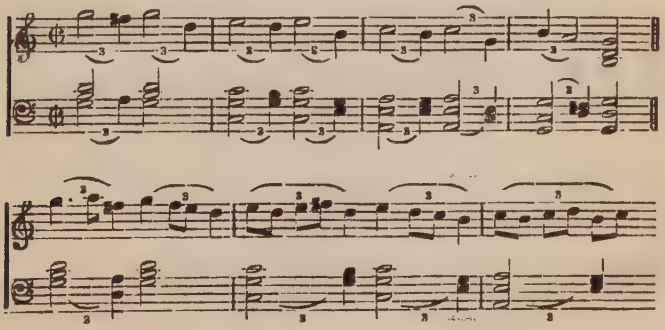


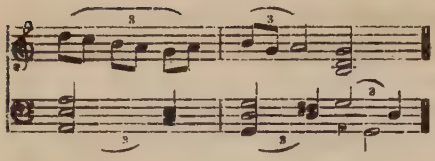
In bars 9-10 we have :—



This first section is seventeen bars, and then follows a variation with semiquaver (and occasionally demi-semiquaver) passages. There are six such sections in all, the same contrasts of alternate crotchet and semiquaver rhythms being maintained throughout.

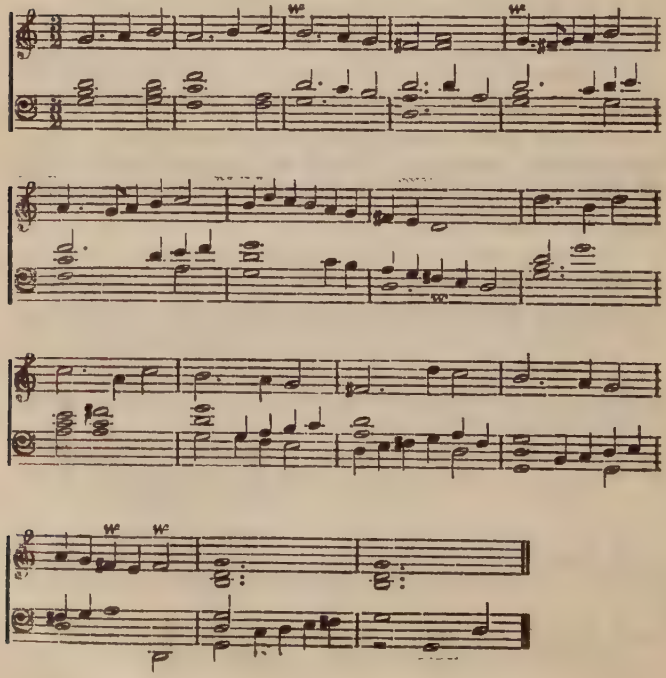
A jolly piece without author's name is No. 74, *Watkins' Ale*, which seems to afford us a glimpse of the hilarity of the jovial topers of the day. It opens :





There are four more variations in the same style.

Another attractive piece, full of lusty, woodland life, is also by "that prolific author, Anon," and is evidently founded on a song about one of the most popular of English heroes. This is No. 69, *Robin Hood*, which opens :—



The book as a whole, certainly adds a touch of vividness to our impressions of the period to which it owes its birth.

IV.

We come now to the last of these MS. collections of virginal music, — *Elizabeth Rogers' Book.* It is a small folio, bound in brown leather, stamped with a gilt design, and the letters E.F. both on front and back. The second fly-leaf is covered with scribblings, apparently an index, illegible, a sort of shell drawing (about twenty of these), and scraps of verse, the last being:—

> This is The dart that pearst the hart the
> Constant loue to try ffor I ame still
> And euer will bee Constant till I dy
> A hart I haue And that Is ffree my only
> Joy I giue to the Iff thin bee soo and bee
> not gone then lett us goyne our harts In one.

which being interpreted, runs, of course:—

> This is the dart that pierced the heart
> Thy constant love to try:
> For I am still, and ever will
> Be, constant till I die.
> A heart I have, and that is free:
> My only joy I give to thee:
> If thou be so, and be not gone,
> Then let us join our hearts in one.

The name Elizabeth Fayre appears on this page twice, being evidently connected with the initials on the cover. Was Elizabeth Rogers' maiden name Fayre,—or *vice versa?*

The next page is headed:—

Eliz. Rogers: hir
virginall booke. February ye 27: 1656.

Then follows an index. The contents of the book are as follows:—

PAGE	NO.		
1	1	Short Prelude	According to index; but pp. 1 and 2 are missing.
	2	An Alman	
2	3	Phillena	
	4	Corrante	[Tilletts.")
3	5	Sir Thos. Fairfax (ffairfax) Marche (headed "John	
4	6	Nan's Maske	
—	7	Almayne	[bred, &c.
5	8	The ffairest Nimphes the valleys or mountains ever	
6	9	The Scots Marche	
7	10	Prince Rupert's Martch	
8	11	Two symphonies.	One of ye symphonies
9	12		do
10	13	Selebrand	
—	14	When the King enjoyes his owne againe	
11	15	Almayne	
12	16	A Trumpett tune	
13	17	Essex Last goodnight	
—	18	Almayne	per Tho. Strengthfeild
14	19	The Corrant of ye last Almain	do
—	20	Rupert's Retraite	
15	21	Almaygne	per Tho. Strengthfeild
16	22	Corranto to the Almaygne	do
—	23	A piece without title,—not in index	
17	24	The Nightingale	
18	25	Corrante Beare	
—	26	Selebrand —	
19	27	Corrant —	
—	28	Almayne	
20	29	Corrant	
21	30	Corrant Beare	
—	31	do	

22	32	The Battaile	Byrd's name is not given, but this appears to be identical with *Mr. Byrd's Battell* in *Lady Nevell's Booke.*
23	33	The Martch of ffoote	
—	34	— horse	
24	35	The Trumpetts	
26	36	The Irish Martch	
27	37	Bagpipes	
28	38	The Drum,—and fflute	
31	39	The Martch to ye ffight	
33	40	Tarra-tantarra	
—	41	Battell Joyned	
34	42	Retrait	
35	43	The Burning of the dead	

The end of the Battell!

36	44	The Souldiers' delight	
37	45	Corrant	
—	46	Selebrand	
38	47	A Maske	
39	48	Corrant	
—	49	Selebrand	
40	50	Ly still, my deare	
41	51	The Chesnut	
42	52	Chloris sight [sighed]	
44	53	Now ye springe is come	
46	54	Corrant	
47	55	—	
48	56	Maske	
49	57	Corrant	
50	58	Almaygne	
51	59	Lupus, Ayre	
52	60	Could thine incomparable eye	
54	61	Almaygne	Mr. Johnson
57	62	Mock Nightingale	
58	63	What if ye King should come to ye city	
59	64	The King's complaint	
60	65	Allmayne	
—	66	Corranto	
61	67	Selebrand	
62	68	My delight	

Here a number of pages written on the other way beginning at the other end.

76	69	A Horne Pipe
78-9		[blank]
80	70	Almayne

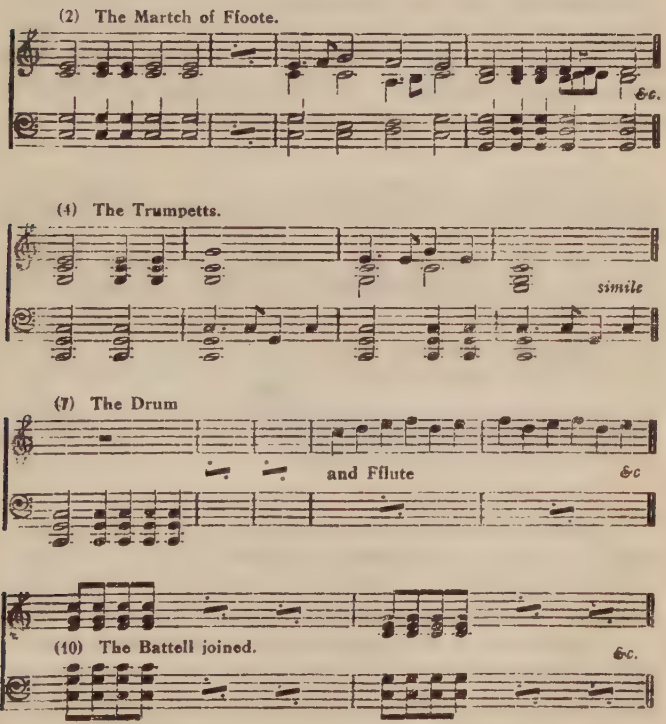
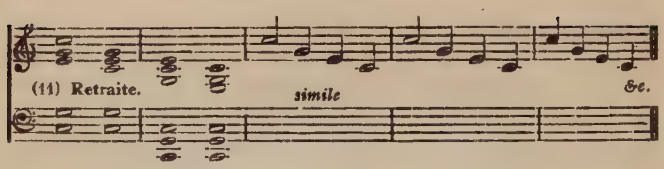
81	71	Corrante	per Tho. Strengthfeild
—	72	Selebrand	
82	73	Almaine	These are written the other way and are entered at the end of the index.
—	74	Corrante	
83	75	Almaine	
84	76	I wish no more	
85	77	Selebrand	T(hom.) S(trengthfeild).
86	78	Love is strange	
87	79	Almaygne Mercurye	
88	80	The glory of the North	
89	81	Almain Mercurye	
90	82	Corrant	
—	83	—	
91	84	Phil Porter's Lamentation	

At the other end begin the *Vocal Lessons*. The fly-leaf again has verses (both sides) and an index. The pieces are as follows :—

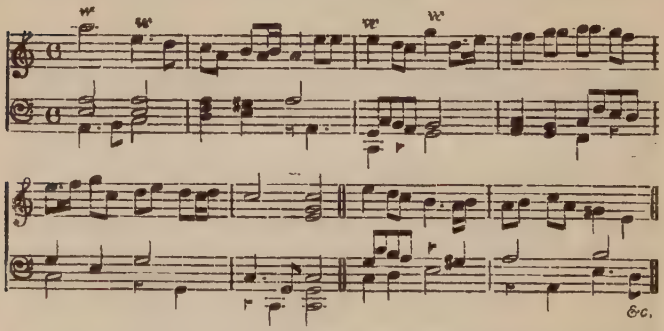
PAGE		
1	Psalme ye 42	
2	Must your faire inflaming eyes	
3	Since it is my fate (Here also "for the tunings of the viole By notes, and also By tablature or Letters)	
4	No flattering pillow	
6	Ballooe, my boy	
8	I'le wish no more	
9	Dearest Love, I doe not goe	
10	No moe, I tell thee (ye) no	
12	O that myne eyes	
14	Yet could I love	
16	Let god the god of Battaile rise	
17	Sing to the King of Kings	
19	Psalm ye 39, v. 12,—When man for sinne	
20	I prithee, sweete, to me be kind	Henry Lawes
22	ffyer, ffyer (or ffyer, fier)	
24	Com you prettye false eyed wanton	
26	All you forsaken lovers	Not in index

It is impossible to discuss the book in detail in the space here at command, but some particulars may be given. Nos. 32-43 consist of what was probably an early work of Byrd's, since it appears (with some

differences) in *My Lady Nevell's Booke* (q.v.). It was known as *Mr. Byrd's Battle* and is a singularly naïve attempt at descriptive music and might (as remarked in speaking of *The Earl of Oxford's March*—*The Marche before the Battell* in *My Lady Nevell's Booke*) be used for a battle of toy soldiers. It recalls *The Battle of Prague*, that show-piece for young ladies at a later period, when such things ought to have been outgrown. Two or three specimens will suffice :—



Thomas Strengthfield, whose name does not appear in Grove and of whom little or nothing is known, is here represented by several pieces. The first of these (No. 18) is an *Almayne* in two strains and of excellent quality. No. 21 is another *Almayne* on a rather larger scale. A short *Corranto* follows. Nos. 71 and 72, a *Corrante* and *Selebrand*, are also good; the latter seems probably by Strengthfield, though no name is given. The *Almayne*, No. 21, begins :—



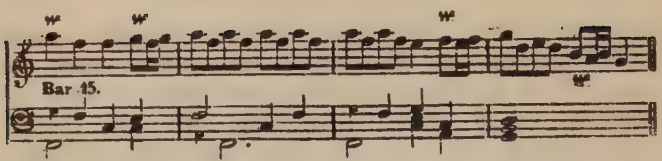
The music, on the whole, is of the type that a young lady of moderate technique might collect for herself. There is nothing either of the value or of the difficulty of the pieces in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, e.g., but some have, nevertheless, a very real charm. The marches and such battle pieces are rather *jejeune*, as in the case of *Mr. Byrd's Battle*, but many of the dances are good and the two little symphonies are

pleasant trifles. The fact of this treasonable young lady's copying and keeping in her private book the song *When the King enjoys his own again* during the Commonwealth is an interesting side-light on the discontent caused in many circles by Cromwell's rule. There are other traces of the recent turmoil; there is No. 9, *The Scots' March*. Great hopes were centred by the king's party on the Scottish advance. There are No. 10, *Prince Rupert's Martch* and No. 20, *Rupert's Retraite*. This dashing cavalry leader was the darling hero of the cavaliers and their womenfolk. There is also No. 64, *The King's Complaint*. It would seem, however, that Elizabeth Rogers (or Fayre), like so many maidens in real life as well as in romance, was pulled both ways during such internecine strife, and had dear ones in both camps,—as may be seen, e.g., in such a book as Scott's *Woodstock*. Thus we find also a note of sympathy with the Parliamentary generals,—No. 17, *Essex' last Goodnight*; and No. 5, *Sir Thomas ffairfax' Marche*. These are not great music, but they have a human, if not a great artistic, interest.

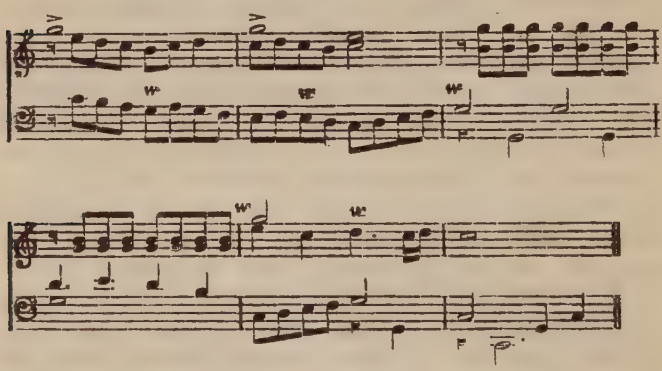
Perhaps the piece of really the greatest charm is No. 24, *The Nightingale*, whose author's name is not given. It shows real feeling and observation, as some of the phrases do verily give the impression of the

> .....light-winged Dryad of the trees—[that]
> In some melodious plot
> Of beechen green, and shadows numberless
> Singeth of summer in full-throated ease.

There is a real sense of the pathetic iteration of the song in the following:—



And in the following at the close :—



With regard to *Ballooe, my Boy*, No. 6 of the songs, this was a favourite tune. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (ii, 8), when the pipers come on, the Citizen cries : "You, musicians, play 'Baloo.'"

The book is in many ways interesting, not only for its purely musical value but as showing the character of the private thoughts and music of a young lady of the period. It reminds one of some of Jane Austen's portraits, though Elizabeth Rogers appears to have been free from "sensibility" as a disease. There is a simple and healthy naturalness without affectation about the mental food she has stored up.

CHAPTER XIX.

Playford (1623-86), Avison, Concertos, &c. (1710-70).

WE now approach the limit of our present survey. The *Elizabeth Rogers Book*, it will have been seen, is dated 1656. About two years later, Purcell was born; at the time of his death in 1695, Bach and Handel were already ten years of age; and with them we fairly reach "The Pillars of Hercules" as the Straits of Gibraltar used to be called, they being the gateway that separated the known from the unknown. Similarly, these two figures represent, in music, the dividing point between the more, and the less, familiar.

The Puritans, on the whole, and with noble exceptions, exhibited the narrow fanaticism which is so often the fruit of a vivid religiosity. The frequent

strife between art and religion is in essence totally unnecessary; and is caused by a purely superficial view of things: true art, true science, and true religion, are all vital elements of man's nature, and all are necessary for his full and harmonious growth. But at this time the warfare between art and "religion" took on exacerbated symptoms, and the period of the Commonwealth acted like a blight upon the delicate art of music, in spite of the personal love for it of such exceptional men as Milton and Cromwell. The Protector had an organ removed from Magdalen Chapel to Hampton Court, and appointed a private organist in the person of Hingston. His favourite compositions, says Davey, were Dering's Latin motets (*c.f.* Cap. II.): and he constituted a Special Commission to enquire into the state of English music. It must be noted, however, *per contra*, that the Chapel Royal remained in abeyance, and was only restored with the Restoration. In spite of difficulties, however, as we shall see, progress was made in some directions.

Instrumental music, meanwhile, was coming to feel firmer ground under her feet. In Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597) he says:—"We call that a fugue when one part beginneth, and the other singeth the same, for some number of notes (which the first did sing) as thus, for example." He then gives an instance of imitation in the octave, in two parts. Fugue as we know it, however, was gradually evolved by the concurrent efforts of numberless writers, the gradual supersession of the modal idiom by the key-idiom,—i.e., the growth of the modern sense of tonality—being a controlling factor, since it directly influenced the fugue-answer. Nineteen years before the *Elizabeth Rogers Book* (i.e., in 1637), only twenty-one years after Shakespeare's death, was born Buxtehude, the great Lübeck organist and writer of fugues,

to whom as an old man Bach made a pilgrimage in his boyhood; and whose influence, says Spitta (*Life of Bach*, II., p. 164), is to be traced in the remarkable fugue in A minor (*Wohltemperirte Clavier*, I). Another man, who had perhaps an even greater influence on Bach, the Nüremburg organist and fugue writer, Pachelbel, was born in 1653,—three years before the *Elizabeth Rogers Book*. Progress went on also, of course, in this country; so that it will be readily seen that the new age was coming to birth: and Handel's fine choral fugues helped to familiarise musicians here with the fugal idiom.

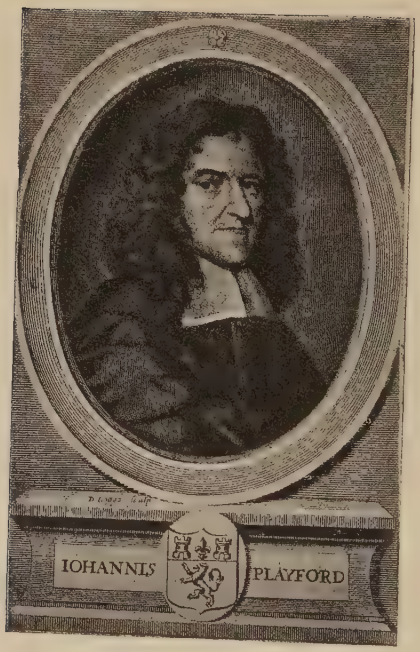
Another branch of the art in which instrumental music was involved was opera, which reached these shores (after a fifty-six years' voyage), about this time. Opera was initiated by Jacopo Peri, at Florence, in 1600; and "was first introduced into England during the Protectorate," says Mr. Davey. "An entertainment was given by Davenant, at Rutland House, in 1656" (the year of the *Elizabeth Rogers Book*); "and in 1657 he announced that the *Siege of Rhodes* would be performed with the dialogue in *recitative*, described as 'unpracticed here, though of great reputation among other nations.' The music has not been preserved. *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru* was performed in 1658." (*Hist. of Music*, p. 44). It may seem curious that such a thing should have been possible; but it will be noticed that this was at Rutland House, not at a theatre.

Masques, of course, had been common enough here. Ben Jonson and the Elizabethan dramatists wrote many fine specimens, often introducing them into their plays, as,—e.g., the great one in Shakespeare's *Tempest*. Milton's *Comus*, too, had been written "at the instance of his friend, the musician, Henry Lawes.....and was performed at Ludlow

before a select assemblage in September, 1634." These masques, of course, included songs (which in the last named case were written by Lawes); but they were not operas. Purcell took his share in the development of this art in England with *Dido and Æneas*, *King Arthur*, and the play "after the manner of an opera which Betterton had made to Beaumont and Fletcher's play *The History of Dioclesian.* Here, again, the great advance made by the composer is visible. He calls into play larger orchestral resources than before. Some of the movements are scored for two trumpets, two oboes, a tenor oboe, and a bassoon, *besides the string quartet*" (Grove, Art. *Purcell*, II, p. 48). Contemporary with him, though long outliving him, was Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725) who played so important a part in the evolution of opera in Italy.

The words in italics bring us to another important point,—the change from the "consort of viols" to the use of violins and the string quartet. Bologna, Brescia, and Cremona were the first homes of violin making. Andrea Amati (*circ.* 1520-77) was the founder of the Cremona school, making the transition from viols to violins; and was succeeded by his sons, Antonio and Geronimo, and his grandson, Nicolò (1596-1684). Stradivari, of course, was the crown of this school (1649-1737). In Germany, Stainer (1621-83), and Klotz (whose instruments are dated about 1670-96), also made fine violins, with a somewhat different model, that of Stainer being deeper in the back and belly.

In London there had been an excellent school of viol makers, including Jay, Smith, Bolles, Ross, Addison, Shaw, Aldred, &c. The natural transition to the violin type took place here independently about 1650,—i.e., again rather before the *Elizabeth Rogers Book.* Rayman (1641-1648), Wise (1656), Pember-



JOHN PLAYFORD

ton (1660), Urquhart (1660), Pamphilon (1680-90), did good work about the times named. A school of Stainer copyists lasted from about 1700-50, including Wamsley (1710-34), and Thomas Barrett, whose instruments are dated from the Harp & Crown, Piccadilly, 1710-30. Of this last maker a fine specimen is in my possession. It is of a high model, and has a pure, sweet, beautiful tone, though not so strong and penetrating as that yielded by the Cremona model. It will be seen, then, that at the period we have now reached this transition was going on, the supply being partly in response to the demand, and itself reacting in encouragement of it.

In 1672, twelve years after the Restoration, "the first public concerts were announced by John Banister, who gave them every afternoon at his house in Whitefriars. Rather later, John Britten, a small-coal man with much natural taste for music and learning, gave concerts in a room above his shop." (Davey, p. 45). At these gatherings instrumental music was played; and in George I.'s time Handel took part. Davey states that they were very fashionable, and were suspected of being Jacobite gatherings in disguise.

What progress instrumental music had made, even before that time, however, may be seen from a consideration of Purcell's "sonatas" (not, of course, on the modern "sonata-plan"), and a comparison of them with Handel's, — e.g., the celebrated Violin Sonata in A. In both cases, of course, the clavier-part has to be filled up from a figured bass: so that in that respect they start fair. Some of Purcell's songs were published in Playford's *Ayres and Dialogues*; and this brings us to another important factor in the growth of English music.

"Honest John Playford," as he was called, was an important publisher who, in an unassuming way, did

an important work for musical art. He was born in 1623, two years before the accession of Charles I., and died about 1686. He "commenced bookseller" a year before Charles's execution, in 1648, at a shop in the Inner Temple. He became Clerk of the Inner Temple Church in 1653. His wife kept a girls' boarding-school at Islington, and in due course he moved thither, keeping his shop at the Temple. Later on, he was a friend of the well-known diarist, Pepys, to whom he gave many copies of his publications. As a music-publisher he practically held the field, almost all the works issued during his time coming out under his *cachet.*

The first he published appeared in November, 1650 (although dated 1651), about a year after Charles's execution, and six before the date of the *Elizabeth Rogers Book.* This was an unpretending work, *The Dancing-Master*, which turns out to be of great value. Some of the distinguished scholars of Shakespeare's day would have been greatly astonished, and even incredulous, had they been told that their names would be forgotten, while an actor would give his name to the age, even more than "broad-browed Verulam;" and his plays and poems be studied all over the world. Something of the same sort, in a humbler way, happened to Playford. *The Dancing-Master* contains some 132 dance-tunes, and is an invaluable mine of wealth in this kind: he has been the means of preserving what might otherwise have perished. If, as is possible, a second impression was taken in 1651 or 1652, the two constituted a single edition. The second edition was issued in 1665,—under Charles II.; and this I have been able to examine by the courtesy of Miss Nellie Chaplin, of whose valuable performances I have already spoken, who has been the first to revive these dances of late years, and to whom my thanks are due. Edition

succeeded edition, and the seventeenth (under his son), considerably enlarged, and much clearer in music type, appeared in 1716, and has also been lent to me by Miss Chaplin.

The second edition is an octavo, and contains a quaint title-page with a drawing of a dance in a hall, two figures in the centre, and a young man with an instrument, reminding one of Turveydrop's dancing academy in Dickens's story. The wording runs: "*The Dancing-Master*, or plain and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances, with the tunes to each Dance. To which is added the Tunes of the most usual French Dances. And also other New and Pleasant English Tunes for the Treble Violin."

Full directions are given for the dances. The diagrams are sometimes amusing, the symbol for a man being the sun, while a woman is typified by the reflected and derivative splendour of a crescent moon; and in the square and round dances the thing takes on something of the aspect of a zodiacal or astrological diagram.

The first tune is the charmingly fresh *All in a garden green.* We have here, too, the fine characteristic tune, *Dargason, or the Sedany.* There are *The Bonny Bonny Broom*, *The Chirping of the Larke* (which reminds one of little Aaron Winthrop's singing of his carol, in *Silas Marner*, with its rhythm, "as of an industrious hammer"), *Chirping of the Nightingale*, the stirring *Lord of Carnarvon's Jig* (No. 55), &c. There is hardly a dull one among them; and the book is of itself a sufficient refutation of the aspersions so often cast on English tunes. Playford has done the same service to English dance-music as Mrs. Kennedy-Fraser for Hebridean folk-song: and a work of the same kind in our own day is to be found in Cecil Sharp's valuable *Country Dance Tunes* (Novello), in

which a similar plan is followed. A curious instance of the greater frankness and plain-speaking of the day is the dance and tune, *Cuckolds all of a Row.* It is, however, impossible to mention here even the most attractive tunes.

A significant fact about the book is the inclusion (as will have been noticed in the title) of a collection of tunes for the "treble violin," which Playford says is "now much used," and evidently regards as increasing in importance. Of these there are 85, many of them most attractive. No. 19 calls for remark, not only as being a good tune, but as bearing the name *The Lady Frances Nevill's Delight.* It will be remembered that the first of the MS. collections for the virginals was *The Ladye Nevell's Booke.* Altogether it is a notable, though an unpretentious, volume. Unpretentious: and yet Playford thought well of the art of dancing, and in his Preface, with his reference to "Plato, that most famous philosopher," who "thought it meet that young ingenious Children be taught to dance," he reminds one of the dancing master in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.*

A list of "Musick Books lately printed by John Playford and Zack Walkins at their Shop in the Temple," is prefixed to the second edition, and includes: (1) *Select Ayres and Dialogues*, including pieces by Henry Lawes, Purcell, and others; (2) Richard Dering's Latin Hymns (Cromwell's favourites); (3) Wm. Child's Psalms (à 3, and organ); (4) Walter Porter's Psalms (à 2 and organ); (5) *Musick's Recreation*, 150 choice Lessons; (6) Matthew Lock's *Consorts of three parts*, for viols, or violins; (7) *Courtly Masquing Ayres, Corants, Sarabands and Jiggs* (viols or violins); (8) *Musick's Handmaid* (virginals); (9) *Musick's Solace* (cittern and gittern); (10) *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick, both Vocal and*

Instrumental; (11) *A Book of Rounds and Catches* à 3, and à 4.

Some of these may, of course, have been issued since the Restoration, seeing that this edition of *The Dancing Master* appeared, as has been stated, in 1665; but the first edition of the book itself was evidently sold, in the main, during the Commonwealth and probably also some of the above-given list. It is interesting to see so free a trade in dance music, and every evidence of instruction in the art, during the period when such things are supposed to have been *tabu*. Evidently the ruling powers found that "nature will out," and that a certain amount of diplomatic blindness was necessary. The first edition of No. 10, *A Brief Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, &c., was issued in 1654, and contained Campion's essay on composing music in parts (*c.f.* Cap. XXI.). The book ran through nineteen or twenty editions, the last appearing in 1730, in George II.'s time. A copy of the tenth edition, issued in 1683 (Charles II.'s reign), corrected and enlarged, and with a portrait of Playford, belongs to Prof. Bantock, who has kindly allowed me to see it. Part I. deals with what we should call Rudiments; and then proceeds to a discourse on singing, and gives a number of ayres and songs (à 2), beginning with the well known charming tune to Herrick's *Gather ye Rosebuds;* and finally a number of Psalms. Two parts are mostly printed on a page, reverse ways, so that two singers on opposite sides of a table could read easily. This was a common practice. Part II. gives instruction on the bass, treble, and tenor viols; and, in a separate chapter, the Treble Violin, with a number of tunes. Part III. is on *The Art of Descant, or composing Musick in Parts*, and goes as far as "Fuge in 4 Parts" —or rather double imitation, though with some idea

of a fugal answer—and canon. Another long list of publications closes the book.

Altogether, Playford's activity was an important one; he did good service to the "skill of musick" and deserves to be remembered with honour. His books had a very large sale, and were a powerful influence in diffusing a love and a knowledge of the art.

During this time, of course, music for the harpsichord continued to be written, and these "lessons," as they were called, were in considerable demand. As will be seen, some are advertised by Playford. Some details of Purcell's work in this kind are given in Grove.*

With regard to violin music, Purcell's *Golden Sonata* has been mentioned,—one of many. It is written for two violins and figured bass; and a good edition, with the clavier part filled up by Jensen, is published by Augener. It is a fine work, showing not only the absolute standard attained, but also the fact that at this period English work was still holding its own in comparison with that abroad. It opens with a broad and dignified *Largo*, with big moving bass part, answered by the violins. Then follows a *Canzona*, imitational, and almost fugal, in style. A short *Grave* then leads into the final *Allegro*, which also is imitational and full of spirit. That this piece has not yet become "antiquarian" may be gathered from the fact that it was given more than once at the Y.M.C.A. soldiers' concerts during the war, with great success. If the date of this may be placed about 1685, the year of Bach's and Handel's birth, as is probable, the high level of work which was their inheritance may be to some extent realised. Jensen has issued also (same publishers) the sonata for one violin and clavier in B minor, and one

* An interesting collection of his "Suites, Lessons, and Pieces for the Harpsichord," in four volumes, is published by J. & W. Chester, under the editorship of Mr. Barclay Squire.

or two others, the style of which is similar.

It is not possible to go into detail in the matter of instrumental music during the period just before, until just after, the time when Handel was the most prominent figure here; but one or two more writers in this class may be mentioned. Alfred Moffat has done good service in issuing some violin sonatas (Novello) which do honour to English art and show that the fine work of Purcell was not an isolated phenomenon. There is a specimen by Henry Eccles (born 1670-1, when Purcell was about twelve years of age). It is fine work, good in technique, and shows real musical feeling. All the movements are in D minor, and the mode of thought is somewhat that of the suite. Another is by Richard Jones (*c.* 1680-1740), and opens with a *Prelude*, broad and big in style. This is followed by an *Allemande*, and that by a lively *Allegro vivo* in 12-8 time. All the movements are in D.

Another specimen is by William Babell (born 1690), the son of a bassoon player. It opens with a *Prelude* in B♭, which leads into a spirited *Jig* in the same key. An expressive *Air* in G minor follows, with which a lively Hornpipe in D minor is associated in the manner of the Minuet and Trio of later days. A *Gavotte* in B♭ closes the work. This sonata, too, shows real feeling; and this case also illustrates the fact that the "sonata" is hardly yet differentiated from the suite.

The example by James Lates (*circ.* 1710-1777) gives hints of the coming transition. It was published about 1768—eighteen years after Bach's death—and indicates either that he had seen some of Ph. Em. Bach's work, or that he was working independently along similar lines; for the tendency towards "sonata form" is unmistakeable. The first

movement is in G; there is a good *Largo* in C minor, with a little *cadenza* at the end; and the work closes with a *Rondo* in G. There is also an example by John Stanley, a blind musician born in 1713. This too is fine and worthy work, all in G minor.

Moffat gives also a specimen of Arne's (1710-78) work in this kind, the last of a set of seven sonatas for two violins with figured bass. The date is probably about 1740. It is a good specimen of Arne's style, showing a man of good attainments, but not, perhaps, of very deep or poetical feeling, though some of his work has real charm,—as, e.g., the songs, *Under the greenwood tree* and *Blow, blow thou winter wind* (from *As you like it*). In the present case the technique is admirable of its kind. The work opens with a *Siciliano*, which is followed by a *Molto moderato*, the part-writing being free and independent, and sufficient contrasts of effect being provided. The final *Allegro ma non troppo* is fugal in style and makes a good close. All the movements are in E minor.

John Collett is represented by the second of the set of six sonatas published about 1755. The first *Allegro* is in A, the first part closing in E and the second returning to A. The *Largo*, in F♯ minor, shows real musical feeling and fits the instrument well; in fact, Mr. Moffat's remarks as to the violinistic qualities of his writing are fully justified. The work closes with a spirited *Allegro* in A.

Prefixed to each of these pieces is a short account of the composer; and we are indebted to Mr. Moffat for the good work he has done in causing these forgotten ghosts to "revisit thus the glimpses of the moon." It is to be hoped his functions as M.C. have not yet reached their term.

One more writer must be mentioned, and with him we must close. Charles Avison (1710-70) was born in the year of Handel's first visit to this country where he settled finally in 1712. Music was now becoming self-conscious: historians and theorists of the art were appearing: and the names of Dr. Pepusch (1667-1752), who settled in England about 1700, Dr. Burney (1716-1814), and Sir John Hawkins (1719-89) are representative. Bach, of course, was doing his work in Germany, but his influence was practically non-existent here. It is as well, however, to keep before our mind's eye, those Pillars of Hercules of which we have spoken, that divide the older from the newer world of music, and which form the gate-way at which we are now again arriving.

Avison is the subject of one of Browning's poems; and this in itself is a title to fame. He was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and studied in Italy. Later, on his return to England, he worked further under Geminiani, the violinist, who was then in London. In 1736 Avison was appointed organist of St. Nicholas (now the "cathedral") at Newcastle, where he spent the remainder of his life.

In 1782 he published *An Essay on Musical Expression*, which occasioned a controversy with Dr. Hayes of Oxford. Avison shows his admiration for the Italian school, Corelli and others, though he also praises Handel. Hayes, however, thought he disparaged Handel (whose influence here was by no means an unmixed blessing), and published an answer, pointing out transgressions of the rules in Avison's works, and inferring that he was not a sound musician. Avison replied: and the kind of stricture he has to deal with is just that of the typical pedant,—e.g., What are the proper consequents of G♯ in the bass with a seventh figured to it? Avison, on the other

hand, takes the artist's position. His book indicates a cultivated mind. He frequently makes one smile at his quaint manner of expressing himself; but most of his remarks are sound sense. In the course of the book, however, he places Vivaldi (of whom Bach thought well, transcribing and arranging several of his works) in the lowest class of composers: Hasse and Porpora in the middle class; and Buononcini (Handel's opponent) with Pergolesi in the highest class (pp. 42-3). He speaks well of Palestrina as the "Father of Harmony," and, following him, of Tallys and Allegri. Scarlatti, Rameau, and Lully are also mentioned with honour (p. 52). Altogether, the little book, though not of great value to the student, will prove of interest to the curious. One gathers from it, however—taken in conjunction with his music—that Avison was one of that numerous class who have the desires and instincts for art, without the actual genius: talent, understanding, taste, are there, but hardly "the vision and the voice divine."

His chief works are twenty-six concertos—not, of course, in our sense of the word (as a composition for solo and orchestra) but as a concerted work for strings with harpsichord to be filled in from a figured bass. The first book (Newcastle, 1758) contains a preface advocating publication in score instead of in parts, which was still the usual practice, and repeating some of the ideas in the essay. The first concerto opens with an Adagio in broad, serious style, in the manner of Lully, with whose works Avison was acquainted. This leads into an Allegro with a fugal opening. Avison, in fact, would call the the piece a fugue, for he says:—

"In the term *fugue*, I do not include alone

those confined compositions which proceed by regular answers according to the stated laws of modulation, but chiefly such as admit of a variety of subjects.....and which, with their *imitations*, *reverses*, &c., are conducted through the whole in subordination to their *principal*." (Essay, p. 66.)

In fact, the movement is interesting as showing continuity of method with Gibbons's *Fantasias* (*c.f.* Cap. XVIII.). Subjects appear, are worked for a time and make way for others in the same manner. Next comes a short *Adagio* which, again, leads into a lively last movement, also "fugal," and having a tonal answer; the scheme being in fact that of the period as instanced by Handel's well-known *Violin Sonata in A* and such things. I had an opportunity of hearing this particular concerto when performed by Bantock in Birmingham some years ago. The others are built upon the same plan; but the fourth has an attractive little Minuet in place of the usual last movement. These concertos show not exactly genius but considerable talent and good solid workmanship, and are quite interesting from an historical point of view.

Avison left also some quartets, trios and two sets of sonatas for harpsichord and two violins. The little march quoted by Browning does not amount to much. The gist of the poem lies in looking at Avison as an illustration of Browning's characteristic doctrine that what once exists is an eternal fact in an ever-present eternity, in spite of the illusions of time and space. Although time seems to have faded Avison's march, this is only an illusion: to the divine or any truly seeing vision, it remains vivid and real. Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, all alike are subject to the same law as Avison and the smaller fry. Then his

fancy turns the handle of the time-machine the other way and he imagines Avison's march working the spell backwards and calling up the crowds shouting for Hampden, Pym—the famous Five—and blaring away amid the uproar.

As history goes, Avison (who was chosen as figure-head for the edition of works recently issued by the Society of British Composers) is not an important musician; but he deserves mention here, as being typical of his period, with its earnest good intentions and its lack of the higher imagination. Browning had a curious fancy for these by-ways of history and his view is a wholesome corrective. To a true vision all men are individual and important,—all sparks of the divine sun: and to think of them as faded is merely an illusion of time and distance, born of our limited powers:—

.....All that is at all
Lasts ever past recall:
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure.

SECULAR MUSIC

(b) Madrigals, &c.

CHAPTER XX.

Byrd's Songs of Sundrie Natures.

Thomas Morley.

The Triumphs of Oriana.

WE now come to what is in some ways the most important part of our study; for the English Madrigal School has an individual character of its own which is like that of no other music in the world. There are a clearness and brightness, an effect as of actual light, which show its kinship with the peculiarly English School of water-colour painting. It was a living art, making an intimate appeal to the keen and

eager spirits of the Shakespearean era: and certainly England was at this time no whit behind the Continent. Music was cultivated by all classes: folk-song was ubiquitous: and the following scene from Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction* will show the state of things in easy circles. A gentleman, meeting a friend, tells him that he is seeking someone to teach him music, since he was put to shame the evening before:—

"Supper being ended, and Musicke bookes (according to the custome) being brought to the table, the mistresse of the house presented me with a part, earnestly requesting me to sing; but when, after many excuses, I protested unfainedly that I could not, every one began to wonder. Yea, some whispered to others, demanding how I was brought up: so that, upon shame of mine ignorance, I goe now to seeke out mine old friend, master Gnorimus, to make myselfe his scholler."

In higher circles similar conditions ruled. Dr. Edmund H. Fellowes, who is at work upon his invaluable edition of this department of musical literature, writes, in a pamphlet on *The Elizabethan Madrigal Composers*:—

"Music, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, was one of the chief features of home and social life. At a large country house a professional musician resided as one of the important officers of the household staff, ranking with the Steward, or Master of the Household. Such a position, e.g., was held by Wilbye, and by Edward Johnson before him, in the household of Sir Thomas Kytson, at Hengrave Hall. George Kirbye was household musician to the Jermyns, at Rush-

brooke Hall; and Henry Lichfield to Lady Cheyney at Toddington House. The instrumental performers held similar posts. Thus John Dowland was at one time lutenist to Lord Audley of Walden, at Audley End. The chief function of these household musicians was not merely to provide music to entertain the house parties, but to organise the informal performances in which the members of the great families themselves took an active part. There can be no doubt that at Hengrave Hall, Wilbye would have undertaken the training of many of the minor officers and servants to sing madrigals and to play instrumental music in the musicians' gallery. A remarkable contemporary inventory is still preserved among the archives at Hengrave showing what a splendid collection of instruments and music books was kept there for practical use. And many of Wilbye's own madrigals would certainly have been sung at Hengrave for the first time, in an informal way, by the family party after supper." (p. 19-20.)

The madrigal, as we have seen, is the offspring of folk-song. The oldest example of secular polyphonic music is *Sumer is icumen in (c.f.* Cap I.). True madrigal music seems to have arisen in Flanders in the middle of the fifteenth century. Wynkyn de Worde's collection of polyphonic songs (and this was the first that appeared here) was published in 1530, and was "a highly interesting collection of works both sacred and secular, by Taverner and other English composers," says Rockstro, in Grove. This, of which we have spoken in the chapter on Taverner, was in Henry VIII.'s reign. Under Elizabeth, in 1571, Thos. Whythorne's collection appeared. And in 1588 (the year of the Armada, of Spenser's settlement at Kilcolman Castle, and about the third year

after Shakespeare's migration to London) Nicholas Yonge, a merchant in correspondence with Italy, published a collection of some fifty madrigals, mostly by Italian writers, under the title *Musica Transalpina.*

As is well known, the intercourse between England and Italy was constant in those days, and even from Chaucer's time. Many of Shakespeare's plays are based upon Italian tales by Boccaccio and others. The relations of Imogen and Iachimo show the same thing; and the celebrated passage in Gaunt's speech *(Richard II.)*, though referring to Chaucer's day, would reflect also the conditions of Shakespeare's time :—

> Report of fashions in proud Italy,
> Whose manners still our tardy, apish nation
> Limps after in base imitation.

In the present case, however, the imitation was far from base. Dr. Fellowes justly remarks :—

"In reference to this comparison between the Elizabethans and their foreign contemporaries, it may be added that there is a virility of style in English madrigals which is not to be found to the same degree in the Italian school. This may be due partly to the fact that the English madrigals, as a whole, belong to a later date than those of the Flemish and Italian composers, although they did of course actually overlap. The earliest sets of Arcadelt and Verdelot, for instance, were published quite fifty years before the first English set; and Palestrina, Lassus, Marenzio, and other Italians did the bulk of their work before Byrd's first secular set appeared in 1588. And this fifty years meant a great deal at that time when new musical theories were being so rapidly developed. These

differences of style are, moreover, characteristic of the English and Italian natures respectively; and are reflected, for example, in their architecture. Thus the polished marble pillars of Italian buildings may be contrasted with the rough-hewn stone shafts of an English cathedral; each style makes its particular æsthetic appeal and both may be admired alike; but the lack of smoothness and polish does not of itself argue inferiority, while severity of style does often make for greater virility, distinction and dignity."

Ibid, p. 23.

The publication of *Musica Transalpina*, just mentioned, was a response to the interest in madrigal singing which had rapidly spread here since about 1575; and in this collection two specimens of Byrd's were included, these being, says Arkwright, "the first published by any English composer." In the same year (1588) he published his *Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie;* and in the following year (1589) the *Songs of Sundrie Natures.* These facts constitute him the founder of the English madrigal school, as Dr. Fellowes puts it (*ibid*, p. 24): "for, although he did not actually employ the term, the secular works contained in his publications of 1588 and 1589 are purely madrigalian in style." We have seen that Byrd was termed in his own day the Father of Music: a further indication of the esteem in which he was held is afforded by a passage quoted by Arkwright in his Preface to the *Songs of Sundrie Natures* (Old English Edition), in which Henry Peacham, writing in *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), speaks of him as "Our Phœnix," and says that he prefers him "above all other."

The *Songs of Sundrie Natures*, then, were published in 1589, and may be regarded as the actual

birth of the English Madrigal School. The work consists of a set of forty-seven *Songs of 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts*, "to serve for all companies and voices: whereof some are easie and plaine to sing, others more hard and difficult, but all such as any young practitioner in singing, with a little foresight, may performe," — as Byrd says in his address "To the Courteous Reader." Nos. 1-14 are in three parts; Nos. 15-25 (11) in four parts; Nos. 26-37 (12) in five parts; and Nos. 38-47 (10) in six parts. If they do not show the maturity of style that was attained by the Madrigal School in its later developments, they are the same in general conception and in essence: they are polyphonic and imitational, and have the peculiar clear sweetness, and simple blitheness, which are characteristic of so much of Byrd's work. Nos. 1-7 are religious. No. 8, *November drear*, opens with a certain greyness, but soon changes its tone, at the memories of "Merry May and the laughing loves of spring, and the joy of flowery June;" though even here there is not the joy of present spring, but a tinge of regret that it is but a memory. It, of course, like almost all, even of the later madrigals, is modal; but a point to be noted is the tendency towards the new tonality shown by the tonal fugue-answer at the words, "And rather would I die." No. 9, *The Nightingale*, shows the typical qualities of which I have spoken. This also opens with a tonal fugue-answer. The part-writing is always imitational, with quaver passages at the words, "in fields to fly." There is ready response to changes in the sentiment of the words,— as e.g. at "through bondage vile," with its augmented fifth. This "dittie" was written "in a friendly æmulation" between Byrd and Alfonso Ferrabosco, says Peacham, quoted above. The character of these pieces, as a whole, may be gathered

from the above remarks. No. 15, the four-part song, *Is Love a Boy?* is an attractive number, and has a second part, *Boy, pity me* (No. 16), the general characteristics being the same. The second of the five-part songs (No. 27) is *Penelope that longed*, and is mostly in long sustained tones, of course with continual responsive passages. The next, No. 28, *Compel the Hawk*, is a good specimen. No. 34, *O Dear Life*, is a setting of a poem by Sir Philip Sydney, in grave tones that reflect the sentiment of the words. Some are intended for accompaniment of viols. One such is No. 35, *A Carol for Christmas Day*, where the viols have nine bars of prelude. The second part of this is a chorus for four trebles, opening in 6-4 time, in which one part after another takes up a joyful phrase to the words, *Rejoice with heart and voice.* Another such is No. 41, the six-part *Dialogue between Two Shepherds*, an individual piece of work on the lines:—

(*a*) What made thee, Hob, forsake the plough
And fall in love?
(*b*) Sweet beauty, which hath power to bow
The gods above.
(*a*) What, dost thou serve a shepherdess?
(*b*) Aye, such as hath no peer, I guess.

(*a*) What is her name who bears thy heart
Within her breast?
(*b*) Silvana fair, of high desert,
Whom I love best.
(*a*) O Hob, I fear she looks too high:
(*b*) Yet love I must, or else I die.

This was performed, some few years since, with strings, by Bantock at the Midland Institute, and

showed a very real simple charm. Altogether, the book is a memorable one, and a seed that bore remarkable fruit.

II.

The next important influence in the development of the madrigal was that of Thomas Morley, to whom we have several times had occasion to refer, and of whom we must now give some account. He was born, probably, in Henry VIII.'s or Edward VI.'s reign, about 1545-55. He was a pupil of Byrd, and took his degree as Mus.Bac. at Oxford in July, 1588, —the year of the Armada, and of *Musica Transalpina.* In 1591 he was organist of St. Paul's, where it has been thought that he received his earlier education. He soon resigned this, however; and in 1592 became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal. He remained, of course, in intimate association with his old master, Byrd; and some four years after the publication of the *Songs of Sundrie Natures,* — i.e., in 1593, his first publication appeared, — the (1) *Canzonets, or Little Short Songs to 3 Voyces.* This was followed in 1594 by (2) *Madrigalls to foure Voyces*; and in 1595 by (3) the *First Booke of Balletts to five Voyces*; and in the same year (4) the *Canzonets to two Voyces,* including seven Fantasias for instruments. In 1597 appeared the *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke,* to which reference has several times been made; and also (5) the *Canzonets, or Little Short Aers to five and sixe voyces,* as well as (6) *Two Canzonets to four Voyces.* In 1600 came the *First Booke of Aires or Little Short Songs to play to the Lute with the Base-Viol,* which included the charming *It was a Lover and his Lass,* written for the production

of *As you like it.* About 1601-3 appeared *The Triumphs of Oriana* (q.v. infra) of which Morley was editor. Other details may be found in Grove. The date of his death is given by Hawkins and Burney as 1604.

The fact of Morley's being the first to follow Byrd into the realm of madrigal and the large share he took in its development, as indicated by his position as editor of *The Triumphs of Oriana*, give him a peculiar importance in this department of music. If Byrd was the founder, as Dr. Fellowes says, Morley may be called the foster-father of the school, contributing much valuable work of his own and sympathetically encouraging the production of others. Byrd's tendency was always to a somewhat serious vein, a tendency in which — as has been seen — Gibbons shared, though with a difference in the quality of thought. Morley's work, in the main, was in that somewhat brighter and happier style which characterises the school as a whole.

(1) The *Canzonets to Three Voyces* were reprinted in 1606 and 1631. The fine edition issued by Dr. Fellowes (*English Madrigal School:* Stainer & Bell) now brings them within easy reach of all. They are admirable in technique and have a very real charm. The alternation of triple and duple time (e.g., in No. 1, *See, mine own sweet Jewel,*—one bar 4-4, two bars 3-4, three bars 3-2, four bars 4-4, two bars 3-4, one bar 3-2, &c.) was not uncommon at the time and indicates the greater flexibility of rhythm which was lost in more "enlightened" days, and is only now beginning to be recovered. No. 2, *Joy doth so arise,* is a very attractive and characteristic specimen. The joyous imitational passages of the opening are finely contrasted with a middle section and resumed at the end, thus yielding a happy close and giving a pleasant

sense of completeness. No. 4, *Lady, these eyes*, and No. 7, *Whither away so fast?* are good specimens; but all are fine and interesting work.

(2) The *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces* were reprinted in 1600. These also are included in Dr. Fellowes's edition just mentioned. They show the characteristic madrigal style fully conceived; but we cannot here discuss the twenty-two numbers constituting the set. *Besides* [*sic*] *a fountain* is picturesque and in the true madrigal vein, as also is *Hark, Jolly Shepherds;* it is invidious, however, to mention some where the level is so well maintained. In the same book (Fellowes's edition) are included also (6) The *Two Canzonets to Four Voyces*, which Morley published in his collection of four-part canzonets from the Italian composers, issued in 1597. These, too, are very attractive.

(3) The *First Booke of Balletts to Five Voyces* was issued by Thos. Este (Byrd's assignee) in 1595, being the first of their kind in England. These also were reprinted in 1600. Tradition says that the words are by Michael Drayton (1563-1631), author of one of the finest sonnets in the language (*Since there's no help*, &c.); and prefixed to the collection is a verse by "M.D. to the Author," which shows the high estimation in which Morley was held and which runs:—

Such was old Orpheus' cunning
That senseless things drew neere him,
And heards of beastes to heare him:
The stock, the stone, the Oxe, the Asse came running,
Morley! but [only] this enchaunting,
To thee, to be the Musick-God is wanting,
And yet thou needst not feare him:
Draw thou the Shepherds still and Bonny-lasses,
And enuie him not stocks, stones, Oxen, Asses.

The ballet is different in conception from the madrigal, arising as it does from the dance. It had its origin, probably, in Italy. Morley says in his *Plaine and Easie Introduction*:—

"There is also another kind more light than this [the Villanelle] which they tearm Ballete or daunces, and are songs which being song to a dittie may likewise be danced.....There be also another kind of Ballets commonly called Fa-la's. The first set of that kind which I have seen was made by Gastoldi."

In this connection, it may be mentioned that Rimbault, in his Preface to the Musical Antiquarian Society's Edition, traces the genesis of many of the leading subjects and ideas in this set of ballets to the works of Gastoldi: a fact which Fellowes confirms. These ballets combine the characteristics of which Morley speaks in the passage quoted above, many of them having a section of Fa-la at the end. An edition with Italian words was issued in the same year (1595), probably for exportation,—an additional indication of the intercourse subsisting at that time between the two countries. As befits songs for dancing, they are bright, simple and more marked in rhythm than the madrigals. The opening number, *Dainty fine sweet Nymph*, is a good specimen, full of exuberant gaiety. There are four bars of sustained harmonies in the middle, serving as a contrast and leading into the closing imitational Fa-la. No. 11, *About the Maypole*, is also a vivid and somewhat more elaborate example; as also is the next, *My lovely wanton Jewel*. The set consists of twenty-one numbers and constitutes a most interesting work. This also is included in Dr. Fellowes's edition.

(4) The *Canzonets to two Voyces* of 1595 are given in Vol. I. of the same edition. They consist of twelve numbers and are quite interesting, alive and full of variety.

(5) The *Canzonets to five and six Voyces* of 1597 are also published in Dr. Fellowes's edition. They, too, are fine work and show the madrigal art in its maturity. The set consists of twenty-one numbers, —1-17 in five parts, 18-21 in six parts. No. 19, *Good Love, then fly thou to her*, opens with imitation (and stretto) by contrary movement, taken up successively by all six parts. It is impossible, however, to discuss them in detail, and we must pass on.

Other writers were now entering the field. In 1597 Weelkes published a set of *Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voyces*; and Dowland's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres of Foure Parts, with Tableture for the Lute*, appeared in the same year. In 1598, works of a similar character were published by Weelkes, Wilbye and Farnaby; in 1599, by Benet and Farmer; and in 1600-1, further collections by Weelkes, Morley, Wilbye and Farmer. These writers, however, we shall discuss in Chapter XXIII, when considering the later madrigal school as a whole. Here the two founders may hold a place apart; and we now come to the event which focussed the musical consciousness of the School and gave us a sort of *speculum*, magic-mirror, in which the spirit of the age, in this vein, shines forth for all time,—the publication of *The Triumphs of Oriana* in 1601-3.

III.

The collection of madrigals, then, known as *The Triumphs of Oriana* consists of twenty-nine numbers and was written in honour of Queen Elizabeth. The date on the title page is 1601, and until comparatively recently the book was believed to have been published in that year. It has been found, however, on reference to the entry in the Stationers' Register that it was not actually issued until 1603, after the Queen's death. It seems that for some reason Elizabeth objected to the publication, although it was written expressly in her honour. Some have conjectured that she "took a dislike to the name Oriana by which she was distinguished in the madrigals and that therefore the publication was delayed until after her death." (*C.f.* Fuller-Maitland's article *The Triumphs of Oriana*, in Grove). I think, however, that perhaps a more likely explanation may be found in the following considerations.

The origin of the name Oriana has occasioned some dispute. In Spenser's *Faerie Queene* Elizabeth is referred to as Gloriana; and some have thought that Oriana is a modification of this. If so, the Queen could hardly have had any serious disinclination for the name, though it is somewhat gratuitously shorn of its glory. Another origin is, however, more likely. In the celebrated romance of chivalry, *Amadis de Gaul*, of the class satirised by Cervantes in *Don Quixote*, the heroine, the loveliest creature on earth, who is the object of the most extravagant admiration and worship, is Oriana. Some thirty-two years earlier (1569), the Spanish ambassador, in a moment of pique, sarcastically called Elizabeth,

Amadis Oriana, thus satirising her romantic claims, and the extravagance of the worship expected by and paid to her. This, however, was long past; and

"by the ingenuity of Morley and his friends, that title which the Spaniard had used for satire was—by the omission of the first part of it—made to convey the highest compliment..... How could Morley, or his patron, pay a greater compliment to Queen Elizabeth than by calling this work, which was written expressly in her praise, *The Triumphs of Oriana*; signifying by this title that she had triumphed over all her enemies by her virtues, and indirectly calling her the most beautiful woman in the world?" (Wm. Hawes's Preface to the edition of *circ.* 1814.)

A much more probable reason for the delay in publication lies in the following facts. Hawkins says in his *History* that, Elizabeth being in a state of the deepest depression on account of the death of Essex, the Earl of Nottingham (Lord High Admiral) to whom the work is dedicated, commissioned it in the hope of assuaging the Queen's grief. A comparison of dates shows this to be unlikely, though not impossible. Essex was beheaded February 25th, 1601: and the Queen was deeply stricken. The ring which she had given him for just such an extremity had not reached her; and her death was caused, two years later, by the violent passion of grief with which she learnt that the Countess of Nottingham, who had received it for transmission, at her husband's instance (the man just mentioned, Essex's enemy) had suppressed it. She shook the dying woman's bed in fury, and retired to her own, whence she never rose.

If the work were really occasioned as this theory suggests, some time would have to elapse before the

earl's concern would suggest this somewhat "phantastical" remedy for a woman's grief at a man's death; and the scheme was concocted, the madrigals written, and the printing done, all before the end of the year. It is more likely that the initiation of the work was earlier. However, it was ready in 1601, and was delayed. Why? Perhaps on account of the Queen's distaste, in her then state of grief, for certain references to Essex in the book, and her mingled feelings of resentment, love and regret.

Mr. Hawes, in the Preface to the edition just referred to, points out that the madrigals No. 9 (originally No. 8) by Holmes, and No. 25 by Johnson, speak of a certain "Bonny-boots," in the one as having Oriana nearest to his heart, in the other as being dead. Mr. Hawes's conjecture that this refers to Essex seems not impossible; and, if so, the uncertain state of her temper and feelings might well give the Queen a distaste for the subject. Hawes did not know that the publication took place in 1603, as the fact was not discovered till long after he wrote. The name "Bonny-boots" sounds grotesque to us; but it may be connected with the A.S. *bote*, remedy, advantage, and thus mean *Good Help;* or some trifling circumstance may have caused it to be a pet-name, or nick-name, of Essex. Hawkins suggests that it was the nick-name of some famous singer, the *Blessèd Bird* being asked to help the "declining choir" on account of his loss. But the idea of a professional singer entertaining Queen Elizabeth at supper, as seems to be implied, is impossible; and it is more likely that "Bonny-boots" was simply one of the "nest of singing birds" in the poetical sense; and Essex was a poet, a sonnetteer, as well as a patron of letters. No. 9 may have been written in 1600, when Essex was in disgrace, in the hope (though this seems unlikely) of

softening the Queen's heart towards him on her birthday (September 7th), as Mr. Hawes suggests (though he seems to imply September, 1601, which is impossible, as Essex was executed in February). No. 25, if Essex be really in question, was of course written after his death.

The work seems to have been modelled on a similar Italian collection *Trionfo di Dori*. The question is discussed by Mr. Hawes *(ibid)*, and summarised by Fuller-Maitland in his article in Grove: "The refrain, *Long live fair Oriana*, corresponds with *Viva la bella Dori* so closely that one of the Dori set, that by Giovanni Croce, was adapted to English words and reprinted from the second book of *Musica Transalpina*, published in 1597." Mr. Hawes's Preface, to which reference has been made, is worth examination by all interested in the subject.

The Dori collection numbers twenty-nine, each ending, *Viva la bella Dori*. The Oriana collection also numbers twenty-nine, each (excepting two) ending, *Long live fair Oriana*. Dr. Burney speaks of them as resembling one another so closely "that they might very well pass for the productions of one and the same composer."—*History of Music*. This seems overstated. There is certainly a general similarity of method and spirit; but there seem to me to be two or three levels of actual attainment. Take Croce's example just mentioned,—No. 26, *Hard by a chrystal Fountain*. It is good sound writing; but Morley's setting of the same words, No. 24, shows on the whole greater freedom, and is in my opinion a more mature work. The other specimen by Morley is No. 14, *Arise, awake, you silly Shepherds*. (Note that *silly* is used not in its modern, but in its earlier sense. The A.S. is *selig*, happy, blessed. It thus came to mean innocent, harmless; in which sense Sir Thomas More

has "The *silly* children lying in their beds:" then simple, rustic, in which sense Shakespeare has, "There was a fourth man in a *silly* habit," *Cymbeline*, v. 3). This also is a masterly little piece. No. 9, by John Holmes, referred to above, begins:—

> Thus Bonny-boots the birthday celebrated
> Of her, his Lady dearest,
> Which to his heart was nearest,—&c.

And at the feast the shepherds sing *Long live Oriana*. It is not impossible that it refers to Essex: there is no one else known to whom it could apply. If it be so, the madrigal must have been written, as has been said, before his execution. It would have been fatuous to write such a song to console Oriana for his loss. The workmanship is good. The piece, however, has one curious aspect. There is, to modern ears, a melancholy effect about the music to the refrain *Long live fair Oriana*, with its continued iteration of A♭ G, and E♭ D. Was this effect the same then, and intended to cause regret? If so, the thing is more puzzling than ever, if the work was intended to be consolatory; but it is doubtful whether it produced the same mental effect then. Much of this music that sounds melancholy to us is so on account of the modal idiom, and would not give the same impression in those days. Here Holmes may simply have been interested in working out the figure. The other piece referring to Bonny-boots—No. 25, *Come, blessèd Bird*, by Ed. Johnson — is also fine work; and, as might have been expected—since it speaks of him as dead—has a distinct tinge of melancholy, these two being peculiar in this respect.

The uninitiated reader must be prepared for what have been called "crudities," such as what are now

termed objectionable false-relations; and the sounding in one part of a note which is in another delayed by a suspension. The pieces are as follows:—

1. *Hence Stars;* 5 parts; Michael Este,—probably a son of the publisher. It was sent in too late for inclusion in its place and was therefore printed at the back of the Dedication. Musicianly, but hardly among the best.
2. *With Angel's Face;* 5 parts; Daniel Norcome.
3. *Lightly she tripped o'er the Dales;* 5 parts; John Mundy. Quite interesting and has charm; distinctly modal in idiom.
4. *Long live fair Oriana;* 5 parts; Ellis Gibbons. A good specimen, with strong modal feeling.
5. *All creatures now are merry;* 5 parts; John Benet. Fine free workmanship; instinct with happy spring-time.
6. *Fair Oriana, Beauty's Queen;* 5 parts; John Hilton.
7. *The Nymphs and Shepherds danced Lavoltos;* 5 parts; George Marson.
8. *Calm was the Air;* 5 parts; Richard Carlton.
9. *Thus Bonny-boots;* 5 parts; John Holmes. Referred to above.
10. *Sing Shepherds all;* 5 parts; Richard Nicolson. A good specimen.
11. *The Fauns and Satyrs;* 5 parts; Thomas Tomkins. Good picturesque work. The fresh cool brooks, and "the roes came nimbly skipping," are depicted in lively colours.
12. *Come, gentle Swains;* 5 parts; Michael Cavendish.
13. *With Wreaths of Rose and Laurel;* 5 parts; William Cobbold. Good, picturesque work; the usual type of running passages at "the swift beasts running."
14. *Arise, Awake;* 5 parts; Thos. Morley. Mentioned above.
15. *Fair Nymphs;* 6 parts; John Farmer. A good specimen, with the typical happy madrigal feeling.
16. *The Lady Oriana;* 6 parts; John Wilbye. Very fine in workmanship and feeling.
17. *Hark, Hark;* 6 parts; Thomas Hunt. True madrigal feeling.

18. *As Vesta was from Latmos hill descending;* six parts; Thomas Weelkes. A fine example. Vesta's nymphs leave her, on seeing Gloriana ascending, and join her instead. Ascending and descending,—similar scale passages; 2 by 2 and 3 by 3,—similar number of parts. Extended imitational passages as all sing "Long live fair Oriana." One of the best.

19. *Fair Orian in the morn;* 6 parts; John Milton (the father of the poet. A scrivener, but an amateur musician of real talent). Good sound work; but the piece is not on the highest level.

20. *Round about her chariot;* 6 parts; Ellis Gibbons. Much the same characteristics as No. 4.

21. *Bright Phœbus;* 6 parts; G. Kirbye.

22. *Fair Oriana;* 6 parts; Robert Jones.

23. *Fair Citharea;* 6 parts; John Lisley.

24. *Hard by a crystal fountain;* 6 parts; Thomas Morley. Referred to above.

25. *Come, blessèd bird;* 6 parts; Edward Johnson. Referred to above.

26. *Hard by a crystal fountain;* 6 parts; Giovanni Croce. Referred to above.

27. *When Oriana walked to take the air;* 6 parts; Thomas Bateson. A fine example.

28. *When Oriana walked to take the air;* 5 parts; Francis Pilkington.

29. *Oriana's Farewell;* 5 parts; Thomas Bateson. Good; the last section, "In heaven lives Oriana," a fine piece of work and really touching in parts.

Looking at the collection as a whole, Morley, Wilbye, Weelkes, Benet, Bateson stand out above the rest. Of the others, one may name Mundy, Ellis Gibbons and Tomkins. The work is a notable one in its happy embodiment of some aspects of the spirit of the era; and its publication stands as a landmark in the history of musical art.

CHAPTER XXI.

Ravenscroft's "Pammelia," "Deuteromelia," &c.

The Melvill Book of Roundels.

Songs; Lawes, Campion, &c.

BEFORE dealing with the later madrigalists, and noting the decline of this fine art-form to the level of glee and part-song, we will now glance at the more popular types of choral music, and at the song. And first we will consider some very valuable collections of Thomas Ravenscroft.

He was born about 1582, became a chorister at (old) St. Paul's, and graduated as Mus.Bac., at Cambridge, in 1607. From 1618-22 he was Music-master at Christ's Hospital. In 1621 he published the celebrated *Whole Booke of Psalmes: with the Hymnes*

Evangelicall and Spirituall: "composed into four parts of Sundry Authors, with severall Tunes as have been and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France and the Netherlands." This was reprinted in 1633. There are four of his anthems among the MSS. at Christ Church, Oxford. He died about 1630-5.

Here, however, we will consider only four works not mentioned above, which throw valuable light upon the musical recreations of the time.

1. The first of these is *Pammelia*, which appeared in 1609. The title-page shows various figures grouped around a central oval containing the words:—

"PAMMELIA. Musicks Miscellanie or Mixed Varietie of Pleasant Roundelayes, and delightful Catches of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 Parts in one. None so ordinarie as musicall, none so musicall as [? indistinct] very pleasing and acceptable. London. Printed by William Barley for R. B. and H. W., and are to be sold At the Spread Eagle at the great North Doore of Paules, 1609. Cum privilegio."

This was the earliest collection of the kind published in England, and affords valuable evidence as to the character of the popular recreations, and the type of music enjoyed by the average public. It is significant to find rounds still so widely used, when one remembers that the first instance of really artistic music known is also a round. *C.f.*, too, Chapter I., on the early prevalence in England of rounds, still an art-form full of vitality. In *Pammelia* there are a hundred numbers, of many types,—a few with a tinge of sadness, but mostly jovial, humorous, and in some cases distinctly broad. They were not mealy-mouthed

in those days. The technique is mostly good: the book had a wide sale, and was reprinted in 1618.

2. In the same year (1609) Ravenscroft published a further collection, "*Deuteromelia*, or the Second part of Musick's Melodie, or Melodius Musicke of Pleasant Roundelaies K. H. Mirth, or Freemen's Songs, and Such delightful Catches. Qui canere potest, canat: Catch that catch can.

Ut mel os
Sic Cor melos
afficit
o *
reficit

Printed for Thomas Adams, dwelling in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the white Lion. 1609."

Note, in the title, *Freemen's Songs*, a significant phrase: they are full of virility and abounding life. This book contains the catch, *Hold thy peace, thou knave*, which was used at the production of *Twelfth Night*, and is still used on the stage when the play is performed. It contains also I.C.U.B.A.K., of which more anon. There are three-part songs, and four-part songs, rounds, &c.; and altogether the collection shows up the life of the time in vivid colours. Copies of these original editions are at the British Museum.

3. In another book in the British Museum, containing reprints of these, there are added two more collections, the first of which is *Melismata*, published in 1611. These are "Musicall Phansies fitting the Court, Citie, and Countrie Humours, to 3, 4, and 5 Voyces.

To all delightfull, except to the Spitefull:
To none offensive, except to the Pensive."

Evidently a sign for *et*.

There are six part-songs, à 3, 4, and 5, in the *Court Varieties:* four (à 3 and 4), in the *Citie Rounds*, No. 10 being extremely broad, and in fact unprintable now-a-days: four *Citie Conceits;* five *Country Rounds;* and four *Countrv Pastimes* (part-songs à 4), or twenty-three in all.

4. Besides this, the copy just mentioned includes a work published in 1614. "A Briefe Discourse of the true (but neglected) use of Charact'ring the Degrees by their Perfection, Imperfection, and Diminution, in Mensurable Musicke, Against the Common Practice and Custome of these times. Examples whereof are exprest in the Harmony of four Voyces, concerning the Pleasure of five usuall Recreations, (1) Hunting, (2) Hawking, (3) Dancing, (4) Drinking, (5) Enamouring." In the matter of mensurable music, as against the system of his day, Ravenscroft seems to have been a *laudator temporis acti*, but the logic of events was too strong for him: in the matter of the vital quality of music he was fully alive.

Various notes and verses commendatory open the volume. Then follow details of mensurable music (twenty-three pages) much in Morley's style. Then come the examples. Section I. is *Hunting and Hawking*,—five four-part songs (of course in separate parts). Nos. 1 and 5 are by John Benet; No. 2 by Edward Piers; Nos. 3 and 4 by Ravenscroft himself. Four part-songs on *Dancing* follow,—three by Ravenscroft, and one by Benet. Then comes *Drinking*,—three by Ravenscroft. And last comes *Enamouring*, which consists of two by Benet, one by Edward Piers, one anonymous, three by Ravenscroft, and one doubtful, having Benet's name in the text, and Ravenscroft's in the index. This makes eight, or in all twenty. Some of these are to be found also in the British Museum,

Add. MSS. 19, 758. This collection, too, throws a bright light on the life and popular art of the time.

II.

Another collection similar in character to Ravenscroft's, has only recently been printed (1916),—*The Melvill Book of Roundels.* The MS. is a small volume of 152 pages, besides an index, 5¾in. long, by 4in. broad, bound in brown leather with clasps, and stamped with gilt *fleur-de-lys*, together with a central medallion of a knight in armour, and the name Robert Ogilvie. The fly-leaf and end-paper are of different make from that of the rest of the book, and the binding seems to have been added later. Robert Ogilvie may merely have subsequently owned the book, and have had no relations with the compiler. The title-page runs as follows:—

Ane buik off roundells
Whairin thair is conteined songs and
roundells that may be sung with
thrie, four, fyue, or mo voices
haifing prettie and plesantt
letters sum in latin and
sum in Inglish quhilks
ar an hundreth in number
Collected and notted by dauid meluill. 1612.

The MS. was formerly in Lord Ashburnham's collection, but is now the property of Michael Tomkinson, Esqre., J.P., of Franche Hall, Kidderminster, who has had it deciphered and printed for presentation to the members of The Roxburgh Club, the editors being Prof. Granville Bantock and myself.

The book was at first thought to be the work of that Sir James Melvill of Halhill (1535-1617) who was sent by Mary Queen of Scots to try to win Elizabeth's consent to the Darnley marriage, and of whose musical diversions with Elizabeth he himself gives so amusing an account in his diary. A subsequent clue, however, has shown almost conclusively that the collection was made by David Melvill, elder brother of a celebrated divine and scholar of the time, James Melvill, who, with his even more celebrated uncle, Andrew, was engaged in the reform of the Scottish universities, and in resisting James VI.'s (I.'s) attempts to force Episcopalianism upon Scotland. One of the roundels (No. 95), a nautico-religious allegory, is by this James Melvill. Andrew was at one time imprisoned in the Tower for his opinions; and James, obliged to fly for his life, made the journey from Dundee to Berwick in an open boat, disguised as a sailor,—an experience which may have suggested the round in question.

Many of the roundels are to be found, either in the same form or with variants, in *Pammelia* and *Deuteromelia*, just described. Both these collections, as will have been seen, are some three years earlier than the date of the completion of Melvill's book, so that he may have taken some of the pieces from these sources. The variants, however, would seem to suggest that both writers drew independently from the floating material of the day. These correspondences are duly noted in the notes on the songs in the new Roxburgh Club edition. The book is not on sale, it is true; but copies are to be found in a few public libraries (e.g., the British Museum, Birmingham University, Birmingham Public Library, Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public Library, &c.) as well as at Novello's.

The book contains 90 roundels, though, by various errors in numbering, there appear to be 96; and eight part-songs, also wrongly numbered up to ten; so that, though ostensibly there are 106 pieces, in reality there are only 98. All are written on a five-line stave, and are unbarred. In most cases a sign is given, in the roundels, to indicate the entry of the new part. This is not always done, however, and where given is not always correct. There are many copyist's errors, some of which have made the solution of the roundels a matter of considerable difficulty, as notes and rests—sometimes amounting to a whole bar—have had to be supplied; notes transposed, and wrong notes corrected. The part-songs, also unbarred, are, of course—as was the custom of the period—written, not in score, but in separate parts.

No. 1 is nearly the same as No. 20 in *Pammelia*; No. 2 nearly the same as No. 3 in *Pammelia*. No. 5, *Hey ho, to the greenwood now let us go*, is given as No. 1 in *Pammelia*. No. 6 is interesting as referring to Jolly Jenkin, a personage who has become traditional and appears, as will be remembered, in Sullivan's *Ivanhoe*. This is almost the same as No. 7 in *Pammelia*. No. 25 is frankly a puzzle round, and gave some trouble to decipher. No indication of the entries is given; and the words:—

What song is this, or how may this be?

indicate the character of the piece. The entries (à 3) are at a bar's distance, a fifth above the original, and a fifth above the answer (though actually a fourth below it). Into another song, No. 29, a popular tune of the day, *The Woods so Wild*, is skilfully woven. This tune appears, as has been seen, in *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, with variations both by Byrd

and Gibbons. Another, No. 62, contains a curious acrostic which, however, was not understood by Melvill, nor by Ravenscroft, in whose *Deuteromelia* it occurs as No. 27, as has been already stated. This is I.C.U.B.A.K.(nave). The fact of the missing letters in brackets was only made clear after publication. *We be three poor mariners* appears in its present form. We have the prototype of *Three Blind Mice* (No. 96). No. 72, *Hold thy peace* (*Twelfth Night*), opens like No. 10 in *Deuteromelia*, but varies later. No. 84 (No. 25 in *Deuteromelia*) has survived traditionally, and appears in Novello's collection of rounds as *Who'll buy my posies?* A special interest attaches to No. 4 (really No. 3) of the part-songs, inasmuch as the lines, *Nose, nose, jolly red nose*, &c., are sung by that old reprobate, Merrythought, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, most probably, in contemporary productions, to this very tune. (*C.f.* also next section).

We cannot, however, go through the list seriatim: the above few notes will give an idea of the state of affairs. As a rule the "profane" songs are more alive than the religious ones, and seem to show their kinship with the vigorous natural life which gave us *Sumer is icumen in* so long before. The technique of the rounds is mostly good: many are full of spirit: and the book contains much that is of great interest. At the same time, it must be owned that the value of the collection is in one sense discounted by the fact that so many of the pieces appear elsewhere. In another sense, however, this may even add to the interest, showing, as it does, the popularity and vogue of the songs, and therefore the tastes of the day. Historians and novelists have long since learned the value of letters, verses, and such things, for the realisation of the atmosphere of any particular period. Taking

Ravenscroft's collections, and this *Melvill Book* as a single group, we may fairly say that they are invaluable in this respect. As we turn the leaves we seem to live again in the rough, jolly and virile life of "the spacious days of Good Queen Bess." We see men at their songs, at home, at their sports, in the tavern; we note their frank outspokenness on subjects which are now discreetly veiled; and their open admixture of religious with frankly naturalistic songs. In fact, the social order of the day seems to start to life and move before us as in a cinematograph.

III.

The growth of the Song is a very large subject, and we can here give only the barest outlines. This, of course, is a blossom that belongs to the *genus* folk-music, the earliest specimen of which, so far as we know, is *Sumer is icumen in*, though some traditional tunes whose parentage is unknown may carry us back to an even more remote past. Boosey's collection *The Songs of England* (three volumes) contains a number of these old traditional songs: and as these are within easy reach of all not many words are necessary. It seems a pity, with a view of understanding the growth of the art, that a more chronological order was not adopted. The old traditional ballads are scattered at random among more modern songs. Unfortunately, too, comparatively few dates are given. However, the songs are there, easily accessible and described in the index; so that the student may readily find what he wants.

Another collection, more suitable for our present purpose, is Bantock's *One Hundred Songs of England* (Oliver Ditson Co.). Here we have

thirty-one traditional songs, ten county songs — also traditional—and then fifty-nine specimens by various well-known writers. In the first group are such examples as *Sumer is icumen in*, the touching *Ah, the sighs that come fro' my heart* (15th century), the old ballad *The Three Ravens* (*circ.* 1611), *The Hunt is up* (1537), *Westron Wynde* (16th century, not the same as that used by Taverner, Tye and Shepherd), *Of all the Birds* (Merrythought's song referred to in Section I.), *We be three poor Mariners*, *By a bank as I lay* (Deuteromelia), *The Carman's Whistle* (a popular song used by Byrd, *c.f. The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*, and *My Lady Nevell's Book*), *Come, live with me*, the tender little melody (*circ.* 1580), *Greensleeves*, *Pretty Polly Oliver*, *The Miller of Dee*, *Barbara Allen*, *John Peel*, the infinitely touching *The Oak and the Ash*, *The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington*, &c. Among the county songs, we have *The Cheshire Man* (whose salt of humour removes all offence from its patriotic bombast), *The Derby Ram*, *The Lincolnshire Poacher*, &c. One that should be specially mentioned is the moving Somersetshire song, *Lord Rendal*, which in various forms has a widespread currency.

The first of the songs of known writers is Byrd's *Oh, mistress mine*, probably written for the production of *Twelfth Night*, of which one must own that distinguished as Byrd was he was not a Shakespeare. There is also his *I thought that love had been a boy*, from the *Songs of Sundrie Natures*. There is a song of Weelkes's from one of his madrigals; and also Morley's charming *It was a lover and his lass*, mentioned in Cap. XXI., as well as his *Now is the month of maying*. There are two by Robert Johnson and three by Dowland, one being the charming *Awake, sweet love* (*c.f.* Cap. XXII.).

Then come three by Thomas Campion, of whom a few words must now be said. He was an Admirable Crichton,—physician, poet, dramatist, composer, and writer on music, as well as having studied law and being a member of Gray's Inn. In 1602 he published his *Observations on the Art of English Poesie.* His *New Way of making Fowre Parts in Counterpoint* was published, probably, in 1618, reprinted in 1655, and later included (as has been stated) in Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick.* His first *Booke of Ayres* appeared in 1601, two more in 1613 and the "third and fourth" in 1617. He died in 1619. Further details are given in Grove. His special significance lies in his capacity as song writer, an art in which he showed real and true vision. His fame was for long obscured, and has only of late years been revived. He wrote both words and music. He is a real poet with the kind of feeling that we find in Herrick though he attained not Herrick's literary finish. His music is homophonic, simple and carefully adapted to the rhetorical sense of the words. Bantock gives three specimens. *Shall I come, sweet Love, to thee?* has simple harmonies, with lute-like interludes between the phrases. *Never weatherbeaten sail* is the next; and then comes the deservedly celebrated *There is a garden in her face.* Altogether, he is a distinct and valuable individuality in this vein of art.

Examples follow—partly arranged from madrigals —by Wilbye, Benet, Rosseter, Ford, Gibbons, &c. Ford's is the well known and loved *Since first I saw your face.* William and Henry Lawes are represented by one each. William was born, probably, about 1585; became a chorister of Chichester Cathedral; and was appointed a gentleman of the Chapel Royal in 1602. Pieces by him appeared in *Select Musicall*

Ayres and Dialogues, in 1653 and 1659, as well as in other publications. The example here given is his well known and beautiful setting of Herrick's *Gather ye rosebuds*.

Henry Lawes was William's younger brother, and was born, probably, in 1595. He studied under Coperario, and was sworn a gentleman of the Chapel in January, 1625-6. He wrote the music for, and played the part of the Attendant Spirit in, Milton's *Comus*, which was produced at Ludlow Castle, at Michaelmas, 1634. It seems that to him is due the initiation of the project. He made a great reputation both as writer and performer, earning the praise of Milton among others. He died in 1662. Further details may be found in Grove. The song here given is his setting of Herrick's *Bid me to live*.

Specimens follow by Saville, Locke, Pelham Humfrey, Blow, Purcell (six), Arne (five, including the charming *Blow, blow, thou winter wind* and *Under the greenwood tree*), and Dibdin (five). We have also Stevens's (1757-1837) exquisite *Sigh no more, ladies;* and such songs as Hook's *The Lass of Richmond Hill*, Mellish's *Drink to me only*, Horn's *Cherry Ripe*, and four specimens by Bishop.

We may mention also a collection of beautiful early songs issued by Arnold Dolmetsch (Boosey). These are the charming naïve *My lytell prety one* (*circ.* 1550); Robert Johnson's touching and intensely human *As I walk't forth* (*circ.* 1610), given also by Bantock; an anonymous setting (*circ.* 1614) of Ben Jonson's verses *Have you seen but a whyte Lillie grow?* There are settings by Henry Lawes of Herrick's three songs, *About the sweet bag of a bee*, *Bid me but live*, and *Amidst the mirtles as I walk* (all about 1652). There is also his setting of Suckling's lines, *I am confirmed;* as well as a setting of the same writer by

William Webb, *Of thee, kind boy* (both *circ.* 1652). William Lawes's *Gather ye rosebuds* (same date) given also by Bantock, finds here too a place. And the collection closes with three duets,— the first, *The Angler's Song*, from Izaak Walton, set by Henry Lawes; followed by two Dialogues, (1) *I prethee keep my sheep for me*, by Nicholas Laneare (1652), and (2) *Why sigh'st thou, Shepherd?* words by Thomas Randolph, music by John Jenkins (*circ.* 1669). Altogether this is a collection of much charm and shows the true English spirit.

For there is an individuality among nations as well as among individuals. It has sometimes been said that we have no national popular songs of any real merit. These collections are a sufficient refutation of this charge. It cannot be denied that there was a "dark age" following upon the early supremacy of English music, an occultation which is now yielding to a living renaissance. And these anthologies show more than this,— that there is a fine body of genuine song of a more definitely artistic character.

"If we have not any writer of the peculiar genius of a Schubert, we have, at least, writers of a very real genius,— genius of a delicate 'atmospheric' type, one might call it, rather than the more imposing Continental type. English song is, in fact, analogous to the Shakespeare and Herrick lyric in poetry. For the central type of English song is such as Stevens's *Sigh no more, ladies*, or Arne's *Blow, blow, thou winter wind*, or *The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington*, rather than Purcell's *I'll sail upon the Dog-star;* just as in choral music it is the delicate beauty of the madrigal rather than the more grandiose oratorio or cantata with orchestra, that is the peculiarly English product; and ust as in painting it is the elusive and 'atmospheric'

watercolour that is the characteristic English work rather than the more solid achievements in oils."

So I wrote some years ago, in the Preface to Bantock's collection above referred to. And I think this is the true view of the case; though the renaissance has now arisen into so full a tide of life, there are so many young songsters adding their voices to the general chorus, and the elder ones have developed so richly, that English music seems to be approximating to the Continental type, as England herself is becoming less of an island. We have now such achievements as Bantock's *Sappho Songs* and the *Ghazals of Hafiz*. Still, I think this finer, more delicate work is the central vein, analogous to the marvellous delicacy of the Shakespeare lyric :—

Hark, hark the lark at heaven's gate sings.

We have great painters in oils, but the watercolour school is peculiarly our own; and it is to be hoped that to whatever height we may reach in grand cosmic work this at least will never be lost,—even as Shakespeare's songs live eternally, shining amid all the thunders of his sublimest tragedy.

An admirable selection of the songs of this period has been published by Fredk. Keel (Boosey) under the title *Elizabethan Love Songs* and includes specimens by Hilton, Dowland, Ford, Corkine, Pilkington, Hume, Jones, Campion, Rosseter, Attey, Greaves, Morley and three from Giles Earle's MS.

CHAPTER XXII.

The later Madrigalists : Dowland, Benet, Farmer, Bateson, Weelkes, Wilbye, &c. Conclusion.

WE will now take a rapid survey of a few of the madrigal writers who followed in the path first trodden by Byrd and Morley.

I.

Of the career of John Dowland we have already seen the outlines in Chapter XVII. In 1592 he took part with several others in the issue of the *Psalms in Four Parts*, published by Este. In 1597 his *First Set of Songs in Four Parts* appeared and these

were reprinted in 1600, 1608, and 1613. They are hardly madrigals in the strict sense; as, although there are frequent imitations, their general texture is homophonic. The celebrated *Lachrymæ; or, Seven Teares figured in seven passionate Pavans* was published in 1605; and, as we have seen in Chapter XVII., made a *furore.* Middleton, Ben Jonson, Fletcher *(solus),* and Massinger all have references to it, besides the passage there quoted. Chapman and Marston, too, speak of his work with praise. There is a personal touch about his music which evidently went to the hearts of his hearers, and which still makes it really alive. As we have seen, he was a celebrated lutenist; and this fact gave rise to the anagram:—

Johannes Doulandus
Annos ludendi hausi
(i. e., I have spent the years in playing).

Peacham celebrates him as a singer, says that (like a true artist) he thought more of his art than of its rewards, and suffered accordingly. He also likens him to a nightingale:—

Here Philomel in silence sits alone
In depth of winter on the barèd briar...
.....
So since (old friend) thy yeares have made thee white,
And thou for others hast consumed thy spring,
How few regard thee whom thou didst delight,
And farre and neere came once to hear thee sing!

He, like Bull, Peter Phillips, and others, reversed, in one respect, the state of things prevalent of recent years; for just as foreign artists have been received here with open arms—and in fact have ousted native

musicians—so at that time Dowland was one of those English musicians who were sought in high places abroad and filled important positions on the Continent.

Of *The First Booke of Songes or Ayres of Foure Parts*, the title says: "With Tableture for the Lute, so made that all the partes together or either of them severally, may be song to the Lute, Orpherian, or Viol de gambo." No. 1 is the touching *Unquiet Thoughts*. No. 3, *My Thoughts are Wingèd*, has the same kind of quality, as also has No. 4, *If my complaints*. We cannot, however, discuss them in detail. They are simple and mainly homophonic, as I have said; and this perhaps gives them a more direct personal appeal than would be attained by the more impersonal polyphonic style,—as Shakespeare's lyrics and sonnets, in which he speaks simply and directly, touch the soul with a more intimate appeal than do the many-voiced dramas. In No. 5, *Can she excuse* (refrain in 6-4), the second phrase of *The woods so wild* is skilfully interwoven in the tenor and alto. No. 17, *Come again sweet Love*, has a happy brightness and real charm, the responsive phrases, *to hear*, *to touch*, *to kiss*, *to die*, being very vivid. No. 19 is the well known and deservedly belovèd *Awake*, *sweet love*. An affecting interest attaches to No. 18, *His golden locks Time hath to silver turned*. It is a setting of a sonnet by George Peele, and was sung by Hales (of the Chapel Royal) before Queen Elizabeth in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, November 17th, 1590, on Sir Henry Lee's resigning his office there on account of age. It shows genuine feeling. No. 9, *Go crystal tears*, is nearer the true madrigal style, with its flowing imitational passages and suspensions: it has good contrasts and a genuinely touching accent.

Altogether, Dowland is a distinct and most attractive musical personality, who should not be allowed to pass into oblivion.

II.

Of John Benet little is known. At the time of the issue of the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition in 1845, there were practically no details of his life available, and there was little more in Grove (first edition). In the second edition, by a curious misprint, his life is said to have extended from 1599 to 1614; so that all his life work was done when he died at the age of fifteen,—truly a youthful prodigy! The date 1599 is really that of the publication of his *Madrigalls to Foure Voyces*, which he therefore wrote and published in the year of his birth! He was probably born about 1570, and, as we have seen, contributed a madrigal, *All creatures now are merry*, to *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601-3). Five short madrigals of his appeared in Ravenscroft's *Brief Discourse* (1614) as already stated. There were also an anthem —apparently written for James I.'s coronation—and some hymn tunes. Ravenscroft, in the Preface to his *Brief Discourse*, speaks of him as having "more than Art, even some Naturall Instinct or Better Inspiration," and of his having written only according to his own soul, without care for authority, — somewhat, in fact, as was said of Shakespeare as contrasted with Ben Jonson. This estimate seems sound; for there are an unmistakeable charm and a simple naturalness about Benet's work. It is unpretentious, but its technique is always adequate. The brighter ones flow happily, with an infectious gaiety and jollity; the sadder ones show genuine emotion.

The *Madrigals of Foure Voyces* (1599) are seventeen in number and are well varied in feeling: they are polyphonic in style and essentially madrigalian in idiom. No. 1, *I wander up and down*, is for three trebles and tenor, opens imitationally and so continues throughout; though, as in other cases, Benet affords contrasts of effect by the use of single part entries, by reducing and increasing the number of parts, by holding notes against moving passages, by responsive figures, &c. No. 2, *Weep, silly soul, disdained*," for three trebles and alto, is fine in workmanship. In No. 3, *So gracious is thy sweeet self* (S.A.T.B.) there is much variety of effect, free flowing imitational writing, and a gracious feeling well portraying the the words. We cannot, however, speak of all. No. 5, *Come, shepherds, follow me* (S.A.T.B.) is a good specimen, full of happy life, "follow me" being given with imitational passages. No. 13, *Weep, O mine eyes* (S.A.T.B.), has a really touching accent; as, also, has No. 15, *O Grief!* (S.A.T.B.). And the final, *Rest now, Amphion* (S.A.T.B.) makes a worthy close to the set. No. 9, *Ye restless thoughts*, and No. 13, *Weep, O mine eyes* (just mentioned), are to words set also by Wilbye. The latter (Benet's) is therefore sometimes now known as *Flow, O my tears*,—a fact which should be remembered to avoid confusion. No. 12, *O sleep, O sleep, fond fancy*, is similarly a setting of words used also by Morley.

On the whole, Benet was a worthy member even of the wondrous "nest of singing birds" of Shakespeare's day, and fully deserves the reputation which has never altogether failed him.

III.

Of John Farmer's life almost nothing is known. It has been found that he was Organist and Master of the Children at Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin, in 1595, and was sworn as vicar-choral in 1596. In 1597 it seems that he outstayed his leave; and it is doubtful whether he returned, for in 1599 he was living in London. In this year his *First Set of English Madrigals to Foure Voices* was published; and, as we have seen, he contributed one number, *Fair Nymph*, to *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601-3). He also contributed to Este's *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1592). The library of Christ Church, Oxford, has some of his music in manuscript, and the British Museum some manuscript hymn tunes. In addition, he published in 1591 a theoretical treatise which was issued by Este, as the assignee of Byrd, and sold in Broad Street "neere the Royal Exchange, *at the Author's House*." Burney, speaking of his psalm tunes in Este's collection, says: "The counterpoint is constantly simple, of note against note, but in such correct and excellent harmony as manifests the art to have been very successfully cultivated in England at that time,"—a verdict which an inspection of the book fully bears out. The *tierce de Picardie* occurs not only at the end of the piece but also of the phrases.

The *First Set of Madrigals to four Parts* is now issued by Dr. Fellowes ("English Madrigal School," VIII., Stainer & Bell). It contains seventeen numbers, and in addition *Fair Nymph*, from *The Triumphs of Oriana*. The idiom is very distinctly modal and polyphonic; in fact, though he has not the suppleness of Wilbye, e.g., it is typical madrigal

music. No. 1, *You pretty flowers*, was printed by Hawkins in the Appendix to his History. The opening, for the three upper voices only, shows us the brightness of the "pretty flowers that smile for summer's sake." There are imitational points and the piece has real charm. A similar happy feeling and free workmanship pervade No. 2, *Now each creature joys the other*. In No. 3, *You'll never leave still tossing*, one may note the pictorial touch, habitual to these writers, at "wavering minds," with its wavelike imitational passages. Nos. 4 and 5, *Lady, my flame still burning* and *Sweet Lord, your flame*, are appeal and response. No. 4 opens almost fugally; in No. 5 we again have wavering passages for the flames. Nos. 7 and 8, *O stay sweet love* and *I thought my love*, again are appeal and response,—something in the manner of Theocritus. Here also we have imitational running passages at "run ne'er so fast;" and quick imitations at "I will follow thee." The sentiment of both words and music in No. 9, *Compare me to the Child*, is characteristic of the period and culminates in the extensive responsive phrases at the words "I die" towards the end. In No. 10, *Who would have thought that face*, we seem to have the doubleness of the false love hinted at in the imitation by "inverse movement" at the opening. No. 11, *Sweet friend, thy absence*, is a fine and touching piece, of the order, if not of the attainment, of *Lycidas*, *In Memoriam*, or some of the Shakespeare sonnets, being occasioned by the loss of his friend Edmund Keate. It is not quite clear whether by *loss* is meant absence or death. One phrase seems to imply the former, the touching final passage the latter, where "Fly to heaven" is given in passages rising to a holding note, indicating the rising to a state of changeless calm. The piece is fine in workmanship and full of tenderness. No. 12,

The Flattering Words, has a striking fugal opening on a chromatic scale-passage; but this is not carried on throughout. The piece seems to be the outcome of some personal experience. In No. 15, *Fair Phyllis I saw*, the changing times—C, 3-2, 5-4, &c.—are especially noticeable. Dr. Fellowes says in a note that the effect is reproduced exactly as in the original. No. 16, *Take time while time doth last*, is an excellent piece of work, and No. 17, *You blessed bowers* (eight parts) forms a worthy climax to the collection. The words, "You fair white lilies" and "pretty flowers," are again given in the higher voices only, as if Farmer really felt their brightness to be akin to the brightness of these upper tones. It is a fine piece of work. Farmer, though not in the front rank of the madrigalists, was certainly a worthy and efficient member of the band and has left us a legacy of real value.

IV.

Several other madrigal writers are mentioned in Cap. XXI. as having contributed to *The Triumphs of Oriana*,—among them Michael Este, John Mundy, Ellis Gibbons, Thomas Tomkins, G. Kirbye and John Milton. This last, the poet's father, was not a professional musician, but a scrivener. He was however a musical amateur of very real talent. These, with a few others, make up a band of songsters whose carols have not yet faded into silence and oblivion, though time and distance have to some extent paled the vividness of their notes. It is impossible to discuss all in detail, but of three more something must be said and with that an end.

V.

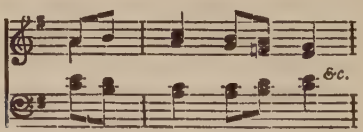
Of the life of Thomas Bateson, little is known. Rimbault, in his Preface to the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of the Madrigals, says that he became organist of Chester Cathedral (Christchurch) in 1599; and he seems to have been a native of Cheshire, though until then a stranger to Chester itself. He was married; and Grove's Dictionary gives the names of his children baptised at the Cathedral, together with details of payments to him for mending the organ. In March, 1608-9, he was vicar-choral and organist at Dublin Cathedral, where Farmer had been earlier. He took the degree of Mus.Bac. at Dublin in 1615, and was apparently the first graduate in music there. An anthem, à 7, *Holy Lord God Almighty*, his only religious music now extant, was probably his degree exercise. He took part, as has been stated, in *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601-3); and in 1604 his *First Set of English Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voices* was published. In 1618 a second set appeared, also in three, four, five and six parts. He died, apparently, in March, 1631. A few further details are given in Grove.

Rimbault's remark that, as Bateson was "essentially an ecclesiastical musician, his writings abound more with the peculiarities which arise from an adherence to the old church modes than many of his contemporaries," seems to be sound; though it should be remembered that others of the madrigalists were church organists. Still, modal characteristics are strong in Bateson; and his constant immersion in church work may, perhaps, account also for a certain seriousness that tinges most of his writings. We have

noted the last portion of *Oriana's Farewell*, "In Heaven lives Oriana;" and the choosing of a subject in this vein is typical of Bateson. The golden sunshine of youth, gaiety and happy-heartedness which we find in some of the other madrigalists are not so strong in Bateson. His work is always fine in texture, and he is certainly among the best writers of the group; but this particular charm of youthful irresponsibility is not his. Bozzy speaks of someone who "tried to be a philosopher," but cheerfulness was "always breaking in." With Bateson, the case seems to be reversed.

Coming now to the first set of madrigals, we find him speaking of them in the Dedication as "like young birds feared out of the nest before they be well feathered." He prays his patron to protect them from "ravenous kite and craftie fowler," and wishes they were nightingales for his sake. The three-part madrigals (1-6) are, except the last, for the higher voices, and are excellent work. Among the four-part ones (7-12) we have, in No. 8, *Dame Venus, hence to Paphos go*, a reference to Mars with his "roaring cannon's thunder,"—an anachronism similar to Shakespeare's clock in *Julius Cæsar*. This is given in roaring quaver passages. In No. 9, dealing with Danaæ, who yielded to the love of Zeus coming in a golden shower, Bateson's characteristic mental attitude appears. Instead of the naturalistic pleasure which most artists have taken in the legend, he turns to conscience. It may be said that the words are not his. He chose to set them, however, and sets them with evident sympathy; and a man's habitual choice of words to set shows the bent of his mind. In No. 10, *Adieu, sweet love*, at the words "my bleeding heart" we find striking use of the augmented triad, to which Bateson was partial. This is a really touching piece. No. 12, *Phyllis, farewell*, is of similar quality,

and the continuity of the music towards the end is a noticeable point. The five-part madrigals are Nos. 13-22. No. 17, *Strange were the life*, is a fine piece of work, and an instance of the more serious, philosophical and reflective thought that appealed to Bateson. In No. 18, *Alas, where is my love?* with its rhymes "sweeting—meeting," we are reminded of Shakespeare's miraculous song *O mistress mine.* Here, too, Bateson's favourite augmented triad appears. The piece is a direct, heart-felt utterance that sounds like the expression of some personal experience.

Much has been said of the celebrated double suspension in bar 13 of *Oriana's Farewell.* It is an early case; and there are two more, though simpler, later on. I mention it here because I wish to draw attention to a passage in No. 19, *O fly not love*:—

which is a forerunner of the similar passages in contrary thirds so often used by Beethoven. No. 20, *Who prostrate lies at women's feet*, is a good piece of work and again shows Bateson's serious spirit,—the "darlings dear and sweet" are shorn of their allurement. No. 21, too, *Sister, awake*, is a good specimen. No. 22 is *Oriana's Farewell*, from *The Triumphs of Oriana.*

The six-part madrigals are Nos. 23-29 and they are fine both in spirit and workmanship. No. 23, *Dear, if you wish*, is a good instance. In No. 24, *Fair Hebe when Dame Flora meets*, there is more of the happy gaiety that is typical of the madrigal school

generally. At the words, "she trips, she leaps," and "To the vallies runs she to and fro" there are imitational passages of quavers that well express young happy-heartedness. But even here Bateson's more serious vein appears as the work proceeds, and we end with "slow-crawling-age" feelingly portrayed. A distinguished piece of work. No. 25, *Phyllis, farewell*, is another setting of the words of the four-part madrigal, No. 12. In No. 26, *Thirsis on his fair Phillis' breast reposing*, one might expect something of loves's abandonment; but Bateson's characteristic melancholy crops up again. It is a beautiful work, however, in spite of—or perhaps all the more because of—this. Bateson reminds one of the remark in *The Merchant of Venice*, "I am never merry when I hear sweet music." In the face of extreme beauty there seems always a touch of yearning which is akin to melancholy. In the next, No. 27, *Merrily my love and I*, there is a good deal of the simpler gladness, with tripping quaver-passages.

> Cheerfully the nymphs and fauns
> Ofttimes to us resorted;

and

> Happy those that may, like us,
> Have part of love's rich treasure,

sing the lovers; but there seems always an undertone of melancholy ready to break through. No. 28, too, is characteristic :—

> Music, some think, no music is
> Unless she sing of toy and kiss.

A good specimen, and possibly a covert rejoinder to

some remark on Bateson's own work. The last, No. 29, is *When Oriana walked to take the air*, from *The Triumphs of Oriana*.

Altogether Bateson is a distinct musical individuality and one of the most distinguished members of the Elizabethan group to which he belongs,—no small praise when the *personnel* of the happy band is remembered. It may be remarked that the "false relations" which we find in Bateson, and with which these writers are so constantly reproached, are a wonderfully powerful means of expressing mingled emotions and give a poignancy that cannot be got in any other way. Perhaps those who complain are simply revealing their own lack of subtlety and complexity. Rimbault's very just remark in the Preface referred to above—"The ear must be tuned to the old modes before the modern musician can thoroughly appreciate much of our ancient madrigalian harmony"— this applies equally to this matter of "false relation."

VI.

Something has been said of Orlando Gibbons's madrigals in Cap. X. They are altogether individual and like those of no other member of the school. The words are fine, having more than a touch of real poetry; and the madrigals as a whole show the working of lofty minds. They form a valuable contribution to our artistic wealth.

VII.

Thomas Weelkes is quite one of the most important men of the group ; indeed, he is usually reckoned as holding a place second to that of Wilbye alone. Until recently only a few scattered facts as to his life were available, and these are given in the Preface to the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of his *Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voices*, published in 1597 by Este. (This Preface is by Rimbault, though the volume is edited by Hopkins.) Arkwright has gleaned a few more particulars, which he gives in his article *(Weelkes)* in Grove, and in Part XIII. of his old English edition. Dr. Fellowes also discusses the matter fully in his Preface to Vol. IX. of the English Madrigal School (Thos. Weelkes). Altogether it seems pretty clear that Weelkes was born about 1577 and became a chorister in some cathedral choir,—possibly Winchester. About 1598, he was appointed organist of Winchester College, in which for a time he lived. While here—probably—he married, when he would have to leave his quarters in the College. In 1602, he became organist of Chichester Cathedral, and in the same year took his degree as Mus.Bac. at New College, Oxford. He died on a visit to London, in the house of his friend Henry Drinkwater, and was buried at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, December 1st, 1623.

His first publication (1) was *Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, and 6 Voices* (1597), which was issued by Este. This collection—which, in his Dedication, he calls "the first fruicts of my barren ground unripe"—contains twenty-four madrigals, six for each of the numbers of parts just mentioned.

In 1598 came (2) a set of *Ballets and Madrigals to five voyces, with one to six voyces*,— pieces of delightful freedom and gaiety. These were reprinted in 1608.

In 1600 appeared (3) *Madrigals of five and six parts, apt for the Viols and Voices*, on the title-page of which Weelkes styles himself "organist of the Colledge at Winchester." Although the title says *five and six parts* all the madrigals are in five parts. And in the same year he published (4) *Madrigals of six parts, apt for the Viols and Voices*, speaking of himself again, on the title page, as "organist of the Colledge at Winchester." These were perhaps originally intended to be issued with the previous set.

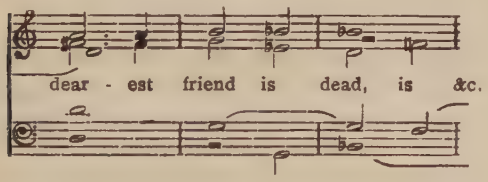
In 1601-3, as we have seen, he contributed the madrigal *As Vesta was from Latmos Hill descending* to *The Triumphs of Oriana.*

In 1600 appeared (5) the *Ayres or Phantasticke Spirits for three Voices*, on the title page of which he styles himself "Gentleman of his Maiesties Chappell, Batchelor of Musicke and Organest of the Cathedral Church of Chichester." With regard to his being a Gentleman of the Chapel, it seems from the details given by Dr. Fellowes that this was a *locum tenens* affair, there being no official record of his appointment or of salary paid to him.

The Musical Antiquarian Society issued a reprint of the first collection in 1843. All five are now reprinted by Dr. Fellowes, as Vols. IX.-XIII., of the English Madrigal School; and Vol. XIII. contains in addition the six-part elegy on Morley and the six-part *As Vesta*, from *The Triumphs of Oriana.* A list of his church compositions, &c., is given in Grove's Dictionary.

These collections of madrigals (for it is here that his chief significance lies) constitute a magnificent

contribution to our artistic wealth and place Weelkes among our chief composers. Of the madrigal in *The Triumphs of Oriana* we have already spoken (Cap. XX.). In a very different vein and deeply touching is the six-part *Death hath deprived me of my dearest friend*, which was written as an elegy on Morley, to whom he of course owed much artistically and to whom he seems to have been deeply attached personally. We find here evidences of the harmonic freedom for which he was noted, as, e.g., at the emotional change :—



This piece is in striking contrast with the others in the same volume (Dr. Fellowes's edition). The one immediately preceding it, for instance, is No. 25, *The Nightingale* (three parts), a charming, light-hearted piece of beautiful flexibility of workmanship, in which the nightingale ("the organ of delight"), the lark, the blackbird, the thrush and "all the pretty quiristers," are told to take back seats, for the cuckoo is "the bird that bears the bell." It opens with bird-like melodies and closes with persistent imitational cuckoo calls lasting six bars, to within two and a half bars of the end. Another in the same volume (XIII.), No. 20, *Since Robin Hood*, apart from its intrinsic charm, is interesting in its reference to Kempe, an actor in Shakespeare's company, and well known as Dogberry. These *Ayres or Phantasticke Spirits*

are all in a light hearted, jolly vein, the music well portraying the spirit of the words. A remarkable specimen is the three-part *Cease sorrows, now*, No. 6 of the first collection (1597). Even thus early, Weelkes's harmonic freedom is evident. Towards the end, at the words "I'll sing my faint farewell," the music is woven upon a chromatic thread, all the parts taking it up in turn and making a tissue of sound that is quite remarkable for the period of its conception. The passage ends with the poignancy of C sharp in tenor against C natural in treble, on the word "Farewell." Dr. Fellowes alludes to this madrigal in his Preface:—

"In certain respects, Weelkes showed an individuality of style quite unlike all his contemporaries. His vivid imagination, his keen dramatic sense, the boldness of his chromatic treatment, added to his disregard for convention—all of which characteristics are abundantly displayed, for example, in his wonderful madrigals, *Thule* (Vol. XII., p. 44, à 6), *O Care, thou wilt dispatch me* (XI., p. 19, à 5), both fine works, and in the three-part *Cease, Sorrows*—secure for him a very important place in the first rank of the English madrigal composers; indeed, Weelkes is probably the closest rival to Wilbye for the first place in the English school."

This is justly and admirably put, and further words on my part are unnecessary. The large bulk of Weelkes's output precludes the possibility of further detailed discussion here; but from what has been said a very fair idea may be gained of the range and fine quality of the work left to us by this great artist.

VIII.

John Wilbye has long occupied the throne—*primus inter pares*— among English madrigalists. Nothing was known of his life until quite recently, when Dr. Fellowes (finding his will at Somerset House and following certain clues thereby gained) has succeeded in establishing some salient facts. These are set forth in his Preface to the two volumes of Wilbye's madrigals (English Madrigal School, VI. and VII.). From these researches, it appears that Wilbye was born at Diss, in Norfolk, March 7th, 1573-4, his father, a tanner, being a musical amateur. He seems to have been educated at Diss until, in 1592, he took service as musician with the Kytsons of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk, with whom he lived until 1628, gradually becoming a real friend of the family. He had the general management of the family music, had to train its members and the servants, to take part in home performances both vocal and instrumental, and to write madrigals, ballets, &c., for such occasions. Such seems to be the origin of the statement current until recently that he was "a teacher of music." Hengrave Hall was a fine place, and the family evidently took a keen interest in music. Their collection of instruments, &c., was a good one and is described by Dr. Fellowes in the Preface just referred to. As Wilbye rose in the estimation of his patrons the room allotted to him correspondingly improved, and inventories of his furniture are given in the same article. Sir Thos. Kytson died in 1602. Lady Kytson lived until 1628; and under her will Wilbye received a considerable legacy of furniture and linen. Shortly afterwards he went to live, in a similar

capacity, with the daughter, Lady Rivers, at Colchester. There he died and was buried in September, 1638, leaving a substantial property, and among the legacies one to Lady Rivers, with whom he was on confidential terms. From being styled "yeoman," he had now become "gentleman," and was evidently a valued friend of the family with whom his life was spent. And thus, amid refined and congenial surroundings, the life of this distinguished artist passed quietly to its close. He was afforded ample leisure for reflection and work; and he has enriched the world with the fine fruits of his genius.

His *First Set of English Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Voices* (thirty numbers) was published by Este in 1598 and is dated from the Kytson's town house in Austin Friars ("From th' Augustine Fryers the XII. of Aprill 1598"). This was re-issued by the Musical Antiquarian Society in their first year, 1841.

In 1601-3 he contributed, as already stated, *The Lady Oriana*, à 6, to *The Triumphs of Oriana*.

The second set of *Madrigals to 3, 4, 5 and 6 Parts, apt both for Voyals and Voyces* (thirty-four numbers) appeared in 1609, published by Este, *alias* Snodham, which name he had, for some unknown reason, now assumed. This collection also was re-issued by the Musical Antiquarian Society.

Both these collections have now been reprinted by Dr. Fellowes as Vols. VI. and VII. of his series; and in addition Vol. VI. contains two motets, *I am quite tired* and *O God the rock*, contributed by Wilbye in 1614 to Leighton's *The Teares or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule*. Many separate numbers, too, have of course been issued from time to time by various publishers. There are also two Latin pieces, *Homo natus*, à 6, and *Ne reminiscaris*, à 5, and one or two other trifles which are mentioned in Grove. And

Rimbault has published a madrigal, *The nightingale in silent night*, which he tells us he discovered in the Music School at Oxford.

Wilbye's work must be actually heard to be properly appreciated. The harmonic basis is often simple—more so than is sometimes the case, e.g., with Weelkes—so that to try the madrigals through on the piano is apt to give a very imperfect idea of their real value. The fineness of their workmanship, the exquisite elasticity and suppleness of their texture, render these madrigals a delight; and these are sometimes lost by even good choirs. Vivid life, resilience, and the avoidance of the mechanical accents of the modern tradition are absolutely essential.

Among the best known are *Sweet Honey-sucking Bees* (à 5; 2nd Set; 17) and *Flora gave me fairest flowers* (à 5; 1st Set; 22), and to these the remark just made fully applies. *Sweet Honey-sucking Bees* opens with four bars and two half bars harmonised, G | D G | D G | D G | D G | D, with reiterated imitations; but, when properly performed, this does not give the effect that might be anticipated. Similarly at the words "make your flight" (which is portrayed according to the custom of these writers in rising imitational quaver passages) there are harmonic repetitions which in adequate performance have no effect of tautology. In fact, the essential lightness would be lacking were the passage overladen with harmonic subtleties. Similarly, in *Flora gave me fairest flowers*, at the words "come, ye wantons," we have G | C G C G | C G C G | C G C G | C G C - | followed by the same a tone lower; and the consequent effect, with the imitations, is light, gay and happy in a measure that could not be attained were the attention distracted with harmonic refinements.

Both these are fine works which fully deserve their reputation. There is something of the same treatment in *Oft have I vowed* (à 5 ; 2nd Set ; 20); but here, as we approach the end, we have, at the words "My feeble heart to pine with anguish" a descending chromatic passage with suspensions ; and this style is kept up to the end, to the words "My bitter days do waste and I do languish." The chromatic passage is not woven into so homogeneous a texture as is the case in Weelkes's *Cease, sorrows, now,* mentioned above ; but it is a fine and touching piece of writing, and the madrigal as a whole is a noble specimen. A piece of great gaiety and light-hearted charm is *As fair as morn* (à 3 ; II.; 5). Other notable instances are *Adieu, sweet Amarillis* (I.; 12 ; à 4); *Lady, when I behold* (à 4 ; I.; 10); *Oh! what shall I do?* (à 3 ; II.; 6); *Ye restless thoughts* (à 3 ; I.; 6); *Weep, weep, mine eyes* (à 5 ; II.; 23); (these last two were set also, as already stated, by Benet); *Ye that do live in pleasures* (à 5 ; II.; 25); *Die, hapless man* (à 5 ; I.; 13); *Happy, oh happy, he* (à 4 ; II.; 16), which speaks of the world as "a stage, whereon man acts his weary pilgrimage,"—the melancholy Jaques's vein with a difference; *Of joys and pleasing pains* (à 6 ; I.; 26).

There are a beautiful flexibility about the web of sound that Wilbye weaves, a logical coherence of thought and a happy congruity between words and music. Altogether, perhaps Dr. Walker is not far wrong in writing: "Both as a technical musician and an expressive artist Wilbye is one of the very greatest figures in English music ; his total output, compared with that of many of his contemporaries, was not large ; but its splendid quality places him, along with Purcell, at the head of the English secular composers."

CONCLUSION.

As we have seen, the modal system was slowly giving place to the key-system: this process was continued until the earlier idiom entirely disappeared. The Civil War and the consequent distractions to the national mind, the influence of the more rigid and sourer Puritans—the "Holy Willies," as Burns would say—(though it should be remembered that Milton was a Puritan and that Cromwell was much addicted to Dering's music) and still more men's growing preoccupation with trade, commerce and money-making, caused a long winter in the realm of music. The Puritans have been chiefly blamed; but probably Mammon is even more responsible; there is nothing so deadly to the higher faculties of the mind—whether art, religion, or philosophy—as devotion to the pursuit of money-getting. The Man with the Muck-rake has neither eyes nor ears for subtler things.

The madrigal declined to the levels of the glee,—itself a fine art-form, however, a good specimen of which is Samuel Webbe's *Breathe soft, ye winds;* and thence to the part-song. The part-song, in the *risorgimento* amid which we are now living, has again risen to the level of the madrigal, though in a different idiom; and it has an even greater variety of resource. Polyphony is freely used and contrasted with striking harmonic effects; and though the key-system is now the idiom, the modal system lends its resources also to the magician who knows its spells. Such pieces as Elgar's *Reveillé*, Bantock's *Lost Leader*, and Coleridge-Taylor's *O Mariners, out of the sunlight*, affect one very powerfully and there are countless others of fine and noble quality.

It has often been discussed whether we are a musical nation. A people absorbed in money-getting and such things loses its vision of the ideal world. But there is undoubtedly a remnant who have not bowed the knee to Baal and who are now raising again the half-extinguished torch. Towards the end of the nineteenth century—following the preparatory work of such men as Macfarren, who after a Mendelssohn phase became a great apostle of the gospel of Bach in this country and some of whose own work has the living spark—a group of earnest composers came into prominence,—Sullivan (though much of his work was of light calibre), Parry, Goring Thomas, Mackenzie, Stanford and others. They proved to be the advance guard of a great host. When works like Elgar's *Dream of Gerontius*, symphonies and chamber music, Bantock's *Omar*, *Hebridean Symphony* and *Dante and Beatrice*, come into being followed by the writings of such men as Holbrooke, Cyril Scott, Dale, Boughton, Holst, Bainton, Ireland, &c., it is idle to pretend that the spirit of music is dead in these lands where once she held her fairest throne.

In one of Hans Christian Andersen's tales, the gnomes and trolls of the far north hold festival every year, after about six months of night, to acclaim Winter as King and celebrate the fact that "the sun is dead,"—but are confounded at the height of the revels by the sunrise. So here. The spirit of music has re-arisen in these lands to confound the pessimists and the scornful; and her radiance and sovereignty are—like the sun's—growing into the fulness of day.

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